

THE HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

FROM 1805 TO 1835.

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HISTORY

OF

BRITISH INDIA.

BOOK II.

FROM THE RENEWAL OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S CHARTER, 1813, TO THE CLOSE OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS, 1823.

CHAPTER I.

Appointment of the Earl of Moira as Governor-General.—Entrance upon his Office.—Financial Embarrassments of the Indian Government.—Indications of Hostility,—Situation and Extent of Nepal.—Sketch of its History.—Rise of the Gorkhas.—Succession of their Princes.—Their Conquests in the Mountains.—Aggressions on the British Frontier.—Causes of the War.—Claims on Bhotwal in Gorakhpur.—Commissioners appointed.—Aggressions on the Saran Frontier.—Villages in Bettia attached and annexed to the Nepal.—Right of the British Government to Bhotwal established.—Lord Minto's Letter to the Raja.—Military Preparations.—Right to Lands of Bettia determined.—Return to Nepal of Gorkha Commissioners.—Disputed Lands occupied.—Outrage of the Nepalese.—War Proclaimed.—Mode of Warfare to be adopted.—Plan of the Campaign.—Disposition of the British Troops.—Advance of the Second Division.—First Attack on Kalanga—Its Failure—Second Attack,—Repulsed.—Death of General Gillespie.—Third Attack.—Defeated.—Bombardment of the Fort.—Evacuation of Kalanga.—March to

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BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

1818.

THE circumstances which recommended the Earl of Moira to the appointment of Governor-General of India have already been adverted to. After the death of Mr. Perceval, he had been authorised by the Prince Regent to attempt the formation of a cabinet which should combine the leading members of both parties in the state; and, although the negotiation was unsuccessful, its failure was not imputed to any want of ability or zeal in the negotiator. His long and close intimacy with the Prince, his distinguished rank and high personal character, were also considerations which duly weighed with the Administration; and he was accordingly entrusted with the government of the British Indian empire. The office of Commander-in-Chief was combined with that of Governor-General. Lord Moira arrived in Calcutta in the first days of October, 1813, and on the fourth of that month assumed charge of his important functions.

Although the economical system pursued by the Earl of Minto had permanently lightened the burthen on the public finances, yet the means by which much of the alleviation was effected were not unattended by temporary inconvenience. The establishments in general, and particularly those of the military department, had been reduced below the scale which the public security demanded; and the great exertions which had been made to pay off the remittable loan and supply the home treasury with funds for that purpose, as well as the necessity of furnishing the Governments of the new colonial conquests with pecuniary aid to enable them to defray the excess

of their charges over their receipts, had drawn deeply upon the resources of Bengal. The new Governor-General consequently found the treasury exhausted, and presenting a balance scarcely equal to provide for the current expenditure. He was urgently pressed by the Court of Directors to continue the remittance of bullion to England, and was at the same time called upon to discharge bills to a large amount drawn upon Bengal by the Company's supracargoes at Canton for money which they had received from private merchants for application to the purchase of investments to Europe.¹ The prospect of preserving tranquillity began also to be overclouded. It was evident that contests, which had been threatening for many years, and which it had been the policy of the preceding administrations to evade or to defer, could not be delayed much longer with a prudent regard for the integrity of the British dominions and the reputation of the Government. Lord Moira was therefore called upon to engage in actual warfare while the immediate resources of his administration were in an extraordinary condition of inefficiency. The embarrassments were, however, merely temporary, and they were speedily surmounted by the activity and energy which the character and example of the Governor-General diffused throughout the Company's establishments.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

1818.

Omitting, for the present, any further notice of the financial difficulties, we shall proceed to describe the origin and object of the impending hostilities.

1814.

The territories of the kingdom of Nepal extended for a distance of more than seven hundred miles along the northern frontier of the British possessions. Stretching in an oblique direction from north-west to south-east, they skirted the provinces of Delhi, Rohilkhand, Gorakhpur, Saran, Tirhut, and Purnia, and included districts partly of ancient, partly of recent acquisition. Between Rohilkhand and Gorakhpur, a portion of the principality of Oude, continuous with Nepal, completed the boundary line. The name, Nepal, was properly applicable to

¹ Financial Letter from Bengal, 30th October and 18th December, 1813. Papers relative to the Finances of India during the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, printed for the Proprietors of East India Stock, March, 1824.

BOOK II. an exile of two years he recovered his station ; but, re-
 CHAP. I. lapsing into his former atrocious conduct, he provoked a
 1814. conspiracy of many of his principal nobles, and was murdered by the conspirators, headed by his half-brother Shir Bahadur, in open Durbar. The murderers were immediately attacked and killed by Bhim Sah, of the tribe of Thápa, a faithful adherent of the Raja, who placed an illegitimate son of Rana Bahadur, still in his minority, upon the throne, and assumed the office of Regent. Notwithstanding these internal convulsions, the tide of external conquest had continued to spread to the westward, and it received fresh impetus from the warlike propensities and ability of the Regent. Under his administration, the Gorkhas extended their authority over the hill Rajas as far west as to the Setlej ; they crossed the river, and were upon the eve of a contest with Ranjit Sing for the spoils of the Rajput princes' established in the hill country of the Punjab, when their ambitious projects in a different direction exhausted the forbearance of a more formidable antagonist, and brought upon Nepal the resentment and arms of the Government of British India.

A spirit of aggrandisement, which had been fostered by success, had long influenced the conduct of the Court of Nepal towards its neighbours of the plains ; and its officers on the frontier had for many years been privately countenanced in a system of aggression and encroachment on the territories subject to the Presidency of Bengal. Their encroachments commenced as far back as 1787, and were persisted in, with occasional intervals, until 1813 ; being perpetrated along the whole of the borders from the frontier of Tirhut to that of the districts between the Setlej and the Jumna. They had given occasion to repeated representations and remonstrances on the part of the Government of Bengal, and had sometimes been suspended or disavowed by the Court of Khatmandu. They were in some instances, however, avowed and justified, on the plea that they were directed to the re-occupation of tracts which had originally belonged to Nepal, or to chiefs whom the Gorkhas had subdued, and whose possessions they claimed by right of conquest. No case had hitherto occurred which was considered of sufficient

¹ The Rajas of Mandi and Kotoch. — See Moorcroft's Travels, I. 129, 174.

magnitude to warrant forcible resistance or retaliation; BOOK II.
 although as early as 1807 the Governor-General intimated CHAP. I.
 to the Raja, that unless redress were granted for outrages
 committed on the frontier of Purnea, and lands which 1814.
 had been violently usurped were restored, "the British
 Government would be compelled to employ the means
 at its disposal for protecting the rights and persons of
 its subjects." The threat was carried into execution in
 1809; a military force was then employed to expel the
 Gorkha officers from the disputed lands, and to replace
 the dispossessed Zemindar of Bhimnagar, whom the Com-
 pany acknowledged as a subject, in his Zemindari.

The more immediate causes of the war which now took
 place, were disputed claims to lands included within the
 British provinces of Saran and Gorakhpur. We shall first
 notice the latter of these, as they were made the earlier
 subject of authorised investigation. Gorakhpur, of which
 the northern boundary is contiguous to the lower range of
 hills, came into the hands of the British in 1801-2, as
 included in the cessions exacted from the Nawab-Vizir of
 Oude. The district in dispute had formed part of the
 landed possessions of the Raja of Palpa, a hill chieftain of
 consideration in the kingdom of Nepal; it being not un-
 usual for the Rajas of the first ranges of the hills to hold
 lands along the borders of the adjacent low country of
 Oude, either from immemorial succession, or usurpations
 connived at by the corrupt servants of the Oude Govern-
 ment. When the transfer of his lands was made, the
 Palpa Raja acknowledged his tenancy under the new
 authorities, and consented to pay a stipulated amount of
 revenue to the Collectorate of Gorakhpur. He was after-
 wards implicated in the conspiracy which ended in the
 murder of Rana Bahadur, and was seized and put to death
 by order of the Regent. His lands in the hills were con-
 fiscated to the state; and the Nepal Government, extending
 the sentence of confiscation to the district of Bhotwal,
 part of the Raja's possessions within the British boundary,
 made a grant of it to another hill chief, the father of the
 Regent, who, in order to secure his realisation of the bene-
 faction, assembled a considerable body of troops upon the
 borders, in 1804, and prepared to take forcible occupation.
 The pretensions of the Court of Nepal were resisted by

BOOK II. Lord Wellesley; but, unwilling to involve the Government
CHAP. I. in a state of warfare upon the eve of his departure to
1814. England, he professed his readiness to enter into an
amicable discussion of the claims in question, and proposed that Commissioners should be deputed on either side to investigate and adjust them. He also suggested that the Commissioners should at the same time determine other claims preferred by the Nepalese to the revenues of the district of Sheoraj, which was likewise situated within the limits of the Ceded Provinces, but had been usurped by the Gorkhas before the date of the cession. The Court of Nepal refused to entertain the latter proposition, but proposed that the chief to whom Bhotwal had been granted should continue to hold it on the same conditions as the Palpa Raja, and pay the assessed revenue to the British authorities,—virtually recognising, therefore, the right of the Bengal Government to the sovereign property of the land. A Vakfi was sent with these replies to Calcutta, but no disposition was evinced to await the result of his mission, and a body of Gorkha troops took possession at once of more than two-thirds of the contested territory. They were unopposed. The negotiation, which had been suspended by Lord Wellesley's relinquishment of office, was resumed by Sir G. Barlow, who offered to forego the claims of the Company on Sheoraj, on condition that the Gorkhas would relinquish theirs on Bhotwal. The disposition thus indicated to compromise the pretensions of the British, served only to confirm those of their opponents. Their proposal to farm the revenues of Bhotwal, was declined, but no steps were taken to recover possession of the district, and the Nepalese remained in undisturbed occupation of the lands into which they had intruded, from 1806 to 1809. At the latter date, a remonstrance against the retention of the territory was addressed by Lord Minto to the Raja of Nepal, which was met by an evasive and unsatisfactory reply; but the Raja expressed a willingness to agree to the appointment of Commissioners to investigate the claims of both parties on the spot. The attention of the Governor-General being directed at this period to the disturbances at Madras, and the expeditions against the French and Dutch Islands, the communication was not

immediately acted upon; but towards the end of 1811, fresh encroachments having taken place, it became indispensably necessary to consider seriously how much longer they were to be endured. The Governor-General having accordingly deliberately reviewed the whole question, determined to accede to the proposed arrangement, although he anticipated little benefit from the result. He had in the first instance repeated the offer made by Sir G. Barlow, to permit the Nepalese to retain Sheoraj, on the condition of their withdrawing from Bhotwal; but their persevering disinclination to assent to any compromise determined him to retract the offer, and to leave the right to both districts to be the subject of investigation. Major Bradshaw was nominated on the part of the British Government to confer with Commissioners appointed by the Court of Khatmandu with regard to the disputed lands on the Gorakhpur frontier, and conferences for the adjustment of the rights of the respective claimants were carried on through the greater part of the two following years.

BOOK II.
CHAP. I.

1814.

While matters were thus circumstanced in Gorakhpur, aggressions of a like origin were committed on the British territory of Saran, lying to the east of Gorakhpur, and, like it, contiguous on its northern division, which constituted the district of Bettia, to the hills throughout the state of Makwanpur. Border disputes had always subsisted between the Raja of Bettia and his neighbour the Raja of Makwanpur. The former had become a subject of the British Government, in 1765; the latter was conquered by the Gorkhas shortly before that date, and, adopting his quarrels, they descended into the low-lands and seized upon part of the Bettia boundary. The aggression was promptly and vigorously repelled. In 1767, a military force under Major Kinloch drove the Gorkhas out of the province, and, following them into the hills, took possession of Makwanpur. When a good understanding with the Court of Khatmandu was restored, Mr. Hastings gave up that part of Makwanpur which was situated in the hills, but retained the low-lands on the Bettian frontier as a compensation for the cost of military expedition which the Bengal Government had been compelled in self-defence to undertake. From that period the con-

BOOK II. until the Commissioners in Gorakhpur should be able to
 CHAP. I. extend their inquiries to Saran. It appeared, however, to
 1814. the new Governor-General, that the question of right had
 been so unequivocally decided by the previous proceedings, that it needed no further deliberation; and Lieut.-Colonel Bradshaw was authorised to proceed to the spot in company with the Gorkha Commissioners, for the purpose only of adjusting any minor points which might remain to be set at rest. The villages had in the mean time been conditionally evacuated by the Nepalese. Their own Commissioners disapproved of the temporary transfer, and, making their disapproval a plea for closing the conference, refused to hold any further communication with the British representative, and returned abruptly to Nepal.¹

It was evident from the conduct of the Gorkha Commissioners, that the Court of Khatmandu had no serious intention to concur in any amicable settlement; but, unwilling to precipitate a quarrel, the Governor-General renewed in an address to the Raja the remonstrances and arguments that had been hitherto urged in vain, requiring him to acquiesce in the conclusions which had been established by the conferences of the Commissioners both in Gorakhpur and Saran, and to accede to the peaceable occupation of the lands by the civil officers of the British Government. A refusal to acknowledge the Company's rights was, after some delay, received. No alternative, therefore, remained but the relinquishment of the claims which had been substantiated, or their resolute vindication.

officer mentioned in the text). The Raja proceeds: "You will state, that in consequence of a letter which I received from Mr. Hawkins of Patna, assuring me that Bir Kishore Sing would be punished by the British Government, I did not punish him as I should otherwise have done. I, however, recovered possession of the twenty-two villages which he had seized. Mr. Young was afterwards sent to investigate the question respecting these villages. By his inquiries, the right of this government, and aggression of the Zemindar of Bettia, were fully established; the Bettia man could produce no documents whatever in support of his claim. Mr. Young has probably reported this to Government. You will state these observations in a proper manner."—Nepal Papers, 363.

¹ The abrupt departure of the Commissioners is referred by Mr. Prinsep to the receipt, by the Raja of Nepal, of the letter of the Governor-General, declaring his resolution to occupy the disputed lands by force, if not given up within a specified period. According to the document last quoted, it arose from personal dissatisfaction with the British Commissioner. "They had an interview with the Musur, who made use of improper language towards them; in consequence of which they remained silent; and, seeing no business brought forward, they came away."—Nepal Papers, p. 384. The state papers of Nepal appear to be no more veracious than those of more civilised nations.

BOOK II. 4,500 troops, was placed under the orders of Major-General
 CHAP. I. John Sullivan Wood, and was to march from the Gorkh-
 1811. pur frontier through the long-disputed districts of
 Bhotwal and Sheoraj to Palpa. The fourth and most con-
 siderable division, comprehending nearly 8,000 men, com-
 manded by Major-General Marley, was to make the most
 effectual impression on the enemy, and was to march
 through Makwanpur directly to Khatmandu. Arrange-
 ments were made at the same time for the defence of the
 interjacent parts of the British frontier by local corps;
 and at the south-eastern end of the line east of the Kusi
 River, Captain Latter, commanding the Rangpur local
 battalion and a battalion of regular native infantry, was
 directed to convert a defensive into an offensive attitude,
 should circumstances be favourable to the change. The
 whole force amounted to more than 30,000 men, with 60
 guns.¹ To oppose so formidable an armament, the Gorkhas

¹ The details of the several divisions were as follows:—		
1st Div. Artillery, European and Native		950
Native infantry—(2nd battalion 1st, 2nd battalion		
6th, 2nd battalion 3rd, 1st battalion 19th, and		
six companies of the 2nd battalion 19th)		4778
Pioneers		263
Ordnance, two 18-pounders, ten 6-pounders, four mortars		— 5,993
and howitzers.		
2nd Div. Artillery		247
H.M. 53rd Reg.		783
Native infantry—(1st battalion 6th, 1st battalion		
17th, 1st battalion 7th)		2314
Pioneers		133
Ordnance, two 12-pounders, eight 6-pounders, four		— 3,513
howitzers.		
3rd Div. 8th Native cavalry		114
Artillery		437
H.M. 17th Reg.		958
Native infantry—(left wings of both battalions		
of the 14th, 2nd battalion 17th, four companies		
2nd battalion, 8th and 2nd battalion 12th)		2573
Pioneers		90
Ordnance four 6-pounders, three 3-pounders, four mortars		— 4,494
and howitzers.		
4th Div. Artillery		868
H.M. 24th Reg.		907
Native infantry—(1st battalion 18th, left wing		
2nd battalion 22nd, 2nd battalion 15th, 2nd bat-		
talion 25th, Ramgerh local battalion, Champaran		
L. infantry)		5988
Pioneers		276
Ordnance, four 18-pounders, four 6-pounders, four		— 7,939
3-pounders, twelve mortars and howitzers.		
Total sixty-eight guns, and men		21,989

Considerable reinforcements joined the two first divisions, besides irregular troops and Native contingents, to the extent of above 12,000 men.—Nepal Papers, 197, 432.

in the beginning of the war could not muster more than 12,000 regular troops, which were scattered along the extended length of their frontier. They were augmented during the war by levies of local militia; but they were without discipline, imperfectly equipped, and were not always well-affected to their rulers, as they were often raised from the subjects of the conquered hill states. A few forts, strongly situated, but in other respects of little importance, commanded the principal passes of the mountains. The main strength of the Gorkhas consisted in the spirit of the government, the bravery and devotedness of the regular troops, the impracticability of the country, the inexperience of their adversaries in mountain warfare, and their ignorance of the ground on which they were to move, and of the character of the people with whom they were to contend.

Major-General Gillespie's division was assembled at Saharanpur on the 18th of October. On the following day the advance, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Carpenter, proceeded by the Timli pass into the valley of the Dún. On the 22nd, Lieut.-Colonel Mawbey followed with the main body, and occupied the town of Dehra, which gives the valley its appellation. The Gorkhas fell back, as the British advanced, to the fort of Nalapani, or Kalanga, a small fort about five miles from Dehra, strongly posted to a steep detached hill, six hundred feet high, covered with jungle. The summit was a table-land above half a mile in length; and at the further extremity stood the fort, a stone quadrangular building of no great extent, but enlarged and strengthened by stockades. It was garrisoned by a body of six hundred Gorkhas, commanded by Balbhadra Sing, whom Amar Sing Thapa, the military governor of the western districts, had selected for his intrepidity to encounter the first onset of the enemy.

Lieut.-Colonel Mawbey, having marched upon Kalanga, summoned the garrison to surrender. An answer of defiance was returned to the summons,¹ and an attack was in consequence made upon the fort on the 24th October. With infinite labour guns were carried up the hill, and a

¹ The letter was delivered to Balbhadra Sing late at night; he observed, that it was not his habit to carry on a correspondence at such an unseasonable hour, but that he should shortly pay the writer a visit in his camp.

BOOK II. battery was constructed; but the place appearing to be
 CHAP. I. too strong to be taken by these means, Colonel Manley
 suspended proceedings and awaited the orders of his
 superior. General Gillespie immediately moved with the
 remainder of the force, and joined the advance on the 26th.
 Heavy guns were brought up, a battery was erected, and
 preparations were made to carry the fort by storm. The
 assault took place on the 31st.

The troops had been distributed in four columns of
 attack and a reserve; and it was intended that the former
 should move against the several faces of the fort at the
 same moment, upon a signal being fired from the battery.
 Three of the columns, having to make a circuit of some
 distance over very rugged ground, marched before day-
 break, but had not reached their appointed destination
 at 8 A.M. when the signal-gun was fired. It was not
 heard by them. In the mean time a sortie was made by
 the garrison, which was repelled by the remaining column;
 and General Gillespie, thinking that the retreating enemy
 might be followed into their own intrenchment by a brisk
 and vigorous pursuit, ordered the column, together with
 the reserve and a company of the 8th, or Royal Irish dis-
 mounted dragoons, to hasten forward and carry the place
 by escalade. The troops advanced steadily to the foot of
 the wall; but the commandant, besides manning the ram-
 parts, had placed a gun in an outwork protecting the gate-
 way in such a way as to enfilade the wall upon that side;
 the fire from which beat down the pioneers before the
 ladders could be applied, and destroyed the leading files
 of the assailants. Foiled in their attempt to scale the
 wall, which had sustained no damage from the previous
 fire of the battery, the men attempted to force the out-
 work and carry the gate. They were received with such a
 heavy fire, and suffered so severely, that it was found ne-

¹ According to Prinsep, (*History of the Administration of the Marquis of Hastings*, l. 94.) Gillespie's impatience anticipated the time proposed for the joint assault, which was ten o'clock. Major Thorne, in his *Memoirs of General Gillespie*, says the time was to have been two hours after the signal, which was fired at seven. Mr. Fraser says that the signal was given seven hours before the time intended, and was not heard, probably because it was unexpected.—*Travels in the Himalaya*. In Colonel Manley's official report, it is said that the signal was fired at eight o'clock, two hours after which was the time for the assault. He also states that it was not heard by Major Kelly, Captain Fay, or Captain Campbell, commanding the other columns of attack.—*Nepal Papers*, 439.

cessary to draw them off to the shelter of some huts at a little distance from the fort. Although the other columns had not yet come into action, General Gillespie, irritated by the repulse which had been sustained, persisted in renewing the attempt, declaring aloud his determination to carry the fort or lose his life. Accordingly, he placed himself at the head of three fresh companies of the 53rd regiment and of the dragoons, and led them again towards the gate of the fort. When within range of the enemy's matchlocks, the men of the 53rd hung back.¹ The General, in advance of the line, in vain called on them to follow him; and, while waving his sword to encourage them to come on, he was shot through the heart, and immediately expired. His aide-de-camp, Lieut. O'Hara, was killed by his side; Captain Byers, the Brigade-Major, was wounded; and many of the dragoons, by whom the General had been bravely seconded, were killed or wounded.² The fall of General Gillespie completed the discouragement of the men, and a retreat was ordered. One of the other columns, that which was commanded by Captain Campbell, arrived in time to cover the retreat. The loss had been, for the duration of the service, considerable: the temper of the men was unfavourable; little prospect existed of carrying the fort by assault; and, as the guns were insufficient to effect a breach, Colonel Mawbey, on whom the command devolved, deemed it prudent to return to Dehra, and there await the arrival of a battering-train from Delhi.

The requisite ordnance having been received on the 24th of November, the army moved on the following day once more against Kalanga. A battery of 18-pounders was constructed, and a practicable breach was effected by noon of the 27th. The storming party, consisting of the grenadier company and one battalion company of the 53rd, and the grenadier companies of the 6th, 7th, and 13th Native infantry regiments, covered by the light

¹ The men of this regiment were in a discontented and sullen mood, conceiving themselves to have been overworked by the unnecessary repetition of parade exercise.

² The total loss was five officers and twenty-seven privates killed, fifteen officers and two hundred and thirteen privates wounded. Besides General Gillespie and Lieutenant O'Hara, the officers killed were Lieutenant Gosling, Light Battalion, Ensign Fothergill, 17th N.I.; and Ensign Ellis, Pioneers. Of the hundred dragoons, four were killed and fifty wounded.

BOOK II. infantry of the 53rd, and supported by the rest of the
 CHAP. I. force, was commanded to advance. The assailants were
 1814. ordered to move with their muskets unloaded, and to carry the breach by the bayonet alone;—an order which seems to have been ill-timed, as after the previous repulse, and in the prevailing disposition of the soldiery, confidence in their display of that calm courage and desperate determination which such a method of attack implies, could scarcely have been warranted. Either from the discouraging influence of this order, or from causes unexplained, the troops, although they moved without hesitation to the breach, manifested little resolution or perseverance in their attempts to force an entrance into the fort. They suffered considerable loss on their approach; and, on arriving at the breach, they found that within it was a precipitous descent of about fourteen feet, at the foot of which stood a part of the garrison, armed with spears and sharp-pointed arrows, supported by another portion, provided with matchlocks and various missiles. After a feeble effort, the assailants recoiled, and drew off to a short distance from the wall; where they remained for two hours, exposed to a heavy fire and an unceasing shower of arrows and stones. The example and instigations of their officers were in vain exerted to animate them to a second attack; and, finding that their backwardness was insurmountable, it became necessary to withdraw them from their position. They were accordingly recalled, after sustaining serious loss.¹

The project of carrying the fort of Kalanga by assault was now relinquished, and recourse was had to a bombardment, which was attended with almost immediate success. The fortress, which was little more than an open enclosure within stone walls, afforded no shelter to the besieged, and speedily became untenable. In the course of three days the place was strewn over with the killed, the stench from whose unburied bodies became intolerable; and the commandant abandoned the place with no more than seventy survivors out of the six hundred of whom his

¹ Four officers and thirty-three privates were killed, seven officers and six hundred and thirty-six privates were wounded. The officers killed were Captain Campbell, 6th N.I.; Lieutenant Harrington, his Majesty's 53rd; and Lieutenant Luxford, Horse Artillery. As observed by Prinsep, the British loss exceeded the number of the Gorkha garrison.

garrison had been composed. Balbhadra Sing effected his escape unperceived, and joined a detachment of three hundred fresh troops which had been sent to his relief, but had been unable to make their way through the British posts. The party was pursued by Major Ludlow, who, by great activity, came upon them suddenly on the night of the 1st of December. A brief but smart action took place, in which the Sipahis in some degree redeemed their reputation, and put the Gorkhas to the rout. The enemy disappeared among the recesses of the mountains, and their pursuers returned to camp. The fort of Kalanga was demolished.¹

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

1814.

The repeated checks and the heavy loss suffered at Kalanga gave an entirely new aspect to the war. The assailants had been unprepared for such resolute resistance, and, from the evidence which the siege had afforded of the extraordinary gallantry of the enemy, learned to look forward with diminished confidence to the result of subsequent conflicts. On the other hand, the Gorkhas were highly elated by the glory of having, with a mere handful of men, so long kept at bay a well-appointed and numerous body of their foes, and of having made them purchase an insignificant intrenchment with the death of many distinguished officers, and the fall of a celebrated commander. The moral effect on the minds of both parties was a principal cause of the protracted continuance of the war. Nor was the loss of time, considered in itself, an evil of slight moment, as it had deranged the whole plan of the campaign. The result was the more to be regretted, as it was obvious that it might have been easily avoided, and that, had the assailants condescended at first to employ the powerful means which European science placed in their hands, and, instead of rushing headlong against stone walls, effectively demolished them, or driven out those whom they sheltered, reputation and life would not have been unprofitably sacrificed. The impetuosity of General Gillespie frustrated his own designs; and his daring courage, failing to awaken a corresponding ardour in his followers, proved fatal to himself and mischievous to his country. His death was, however, in

¹ For the official reports of the occurrences before Kalanga, see Nepal Papers, pp. 460, 490.

BOOK II. harmony with the whole course of his life; and, if he
 CHAP. I. exhibited some want of the prudent foresight and steady
 1814. self-possession required in a commander, he displayed that
 disdain of danger in the discharge of his duty which constitutes one of the highest qualifications of a soldier.¹

During the interval that elapsed before the repetition of the attack on Kalanga, Colonel Mawbey detached Lieut.-Colonel Carpenter with his division to a position on the right bank of the Jumna, where he might command the fords of the river, and intercept the communication between the Gorkha commanders in the east and west. The same position was favourable for his giving aid to the hill tribes, should any of them show a disposition to rise and throw off the Gorkha yoke. The people of Jounnar in consequence took up arms, and so much alarmed the Gorkha garrison of Barat, a stronghold in the mountains, that they hastily evacuated a fort which could not have been reduced without trouble and loss. After the capture of Kalanga, Colonel Mawbey was directed to march to the westward into the adjacent Dán, or valley, of Karla, in order to carry out so much of the original plan as to effect the co-operation of the division with that under the command of Colonel Ochterlony. The force descended into the lowlands, to avoid the ridge separating the Dehra from the Karla Dán, and returning northwards entered the latter by the pass of Moganand. On the 19th of December the division was within seven miles of Nahan, the capital of the small state of Sirmor, the Raja of which had been dispossessed by the Gorkhas. Their army in this quarter was commanded by Ranjor Sing Thapa, the son of Amar Sing, whose head-quarters were at Jytak, a fort on the top of a mountain lying north from the town, strongly situated in an angle where two mountain ridges met, and perched at the height of five thousand feet above the level of the sea. On the 20th of December, the force was joined by Major-General Martindell, who had been appointed to the command.²

¹ A monument to the memory of General Gillespie was erected at Meerut by the officers who had served under him; and a public monument, voted by Parliament, was placed in St. Paul's Cathedral. Two obelisks on the hill of Nalapani mark the spot where he and his companions fell; no vestige of the fort remains.—*Memoir of General Gillespie*, 240; *Mundy's Sketches of India*, i. 192; *Moorcroft's Travels*, i. 26.

² *Nepal Papers*, 493.

After occupying the town of Nahan, General Martindell moved to the foot of the range, on the highest peak of which the fort of Jytak was placed; the approach to it was defended by stockades at various heights; the ascent was rough and difficult, as the hills rose throughout the whole acclivity by steep and abrupt elevations, separated by loose crumbling soil, and deep and precipitous ravines, and afforded no level ground for the evolutions of regular troops. The position having been carefully reconnoitred, it appeared that the garrison depended for their supply of water upon wells situated exteriorly to the fort, and some way below it; and the General consequently resolved to make an attempt to cut off the supply, and at the same time dispossess the enemy of a strongly stockaded post, erected for its defence about a mile to the west of the fortress. With this intention two columns were formed: one, under Major Ludlow, to move against the post on the left and nearest side; the other, under Major Richards, to make a *détour*, and assail the stockade in the rear. The effect of the combined attack was disappointed; and the two columns, being successively overpowered by a superior force, were compelled to retreat.

The party under Major Richards left the camp at midnight.¹ They had a march to make of sixteen miles, by paths rarely admitting two men abreast. It was eight o'clock in the morning before they reached the foot of the hill on which they were to establish themselves; and they halted till ten, to allow the whole of the men to join and rest. They then ascended the mountain, and, having gained the summit, advanced to within three hundred yards of the fort of Jytak. The enemy offered no opposition, being at the time engaged with their other assailants.

The division commanded by Major Ludlow² marched an hour later than the column under Major Richards, but, having a much shorter interval to traverse, came earlier in contact with the Gorkhas. Their picquets were en-

¹ It consisted of the 1st battalion of the 13th N. I., the light companies of his Majesty's 53rd, and 7th, 26th, and 27th N. I., and of a company of pioneers. The companies were weak, and the whole mustered little more than six hundred strong.—Nepal Papers, 504.

² It was formed of a grenadier company of the 53rd, three companies of the light battalion, and nine of the 6th N. I., with a company of pioneers, mustering about nine hundred.—Ibid.

BOOK II. countered about three in the morning, and driven back.
 CHAP. I. The column advanced to the summit of a hill, on which
 1814. stood the ruined village and temple of Jamta, from which the leading files, consisting of the grenadiers of his Majesty's 53rd, dislodged a small Gorkha post. Elated by their success, and attributing the retreat of the enemy to fear, the grenadiers insisted upon being led against a stockade at no great distance, and apparently of no formidable strength. Conceiving that it might be carried by a vigorous attack, Major Ludlow permitted the attempt to be made, and the advance rushed onward without waiting till the whole of the detachment had come up and could be formed. The Gorkha commander, Jaspao Thapa, was prepared for their reception. As soon as the first firing was heard, he had been detached from Jytak with the main body of the garrison, and had stationed them not only behind the stockade, but on the commanding points of the hills on either flank ; so that when the assailants reached the foot of the stockade, a sudden and destructive fire was poured upon them from every quarter. Before they could recover from the disorder thus occasioned, they were charged by superior numbers, sword in hand, and driven back in confusion to the point at Jamta, whence they had so confidently advanced. The Native troops were still in disarray, and, having but few European officers to keep them steady,¹ they gave the fugitives no support ; on the contrary, sharing in the disorder, and struck with panic, they fled precipitately down the hill, closely chased by the Gorkhas, who inflicted severe loss with their semicircular and heavy swords. The pursuit was, however, arrested by the necessity of returning to encounter the more successful advance of Major Richards. The British detachment, completely disorganised, regained the camp by ten o'clock.²

The garrison of Jytak, having thus so easily disposed of one attack, proceeded with augmented confidence and courage to get rid of the other ; but some interval elapsed before they were in a condition to resume offensive opera-

¹ There were but three officers with the nine companies of the 13th N.I.

² Lieutenant Munt of the 1st N. I. was killed, three officers were wounded ; thirty-one Europeans and one hundred and twenty natives were killed and wounded.

tions. In the mean time, Major Richards had accomplished the duty entrusted to him, and had taken up a station which, approaching the fort and commanding the wells, must soon have straitened the garrison and accelerated their surrender. It was therefore of vital importance to Ranjor Sing to dislodge the English before they should be strengthened sufficiently to render the attempt hopeless. At one o'clock he descended from the fort with all his available force, and with intrepid resolution. The detachment stood its ground bravely, and the Gorkhas were repulsed. They renewed their attacks and displayed the greatest courage, advancing to the very muzzles of the muskets, and endeavouring to hew down their opponents with their swords. The struggle was continued for six hours, until it grew dark, and the ammunition of the Sipahis began to fail — so that they were obliged at last to defend themselves with stones. At seven in the evening a message was received from General Martindell, commanding the detachment to retreat. Previous messages of the same tenor had been despatched, but the messengers had been intercepted. Although confident, if furnished with supplies, of being able to maintain his position, Major Richards found himself obliged to comply with the General's positive orders, and commenced a retreat under the most unpropitious circumstances, from the nature of the ground and the exhaustion of the men. Moving slowly in single file along narrow, rough, and precipitous paths, the whole must have fallen a sacrifice to an enemy familiar with the locality, and experienced in mountain warfare, had not the retreat been covered with singular devotedness by Lieut. Thackeray and the light company of the 26th N.L. The whole Gorkha force was kept in check and repeatedly repulsed by this officer and his small party, until he and his next in command, Ensign Wilson, and many of the men, were killed. The retreating body were then overtaken by the Gorkhas, but they had nearly cleared the most difficult and exposed portions of their path; and although much confusion ensued, and many of the officers and men were separated from the column, yet most of them subsequently found their way to camp, and the loss proved less serious than there was reason at first to apprehend. The darkness of

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

1811.

BOOK II. From the summit of the pass of Nalagerh, but towering
 CHAP. I. far above it, rising to an elevation of four thousand six
 hundred feet above the sea, appeared the mountain on
 1814. which the fort of Ramgerh was situated. As soon as Amar
 Sing was apprised of General Ochterlony's advance, he had
 marched thither, from Arki, with a force of about three
 thousand regular troops, and had encamped on the ridge.
 The Gorkha right rested upon the fort; the left about
 two miles distant, upon a strongly stockaded hill; and
 stockades protected the intervals along their front. After
 a careful examination of the position of the Gorkhas, it
 appeared to the cautious and experienced judgment of the
 British commander that the nature of the ground pre-
 cluded an attack in front; and, having received informa-
 tion that the northern face of the range was less broken
 and precipitous, he resolved to turn the left of the enemy,
 and assail their position from the rear. He, therefore,
 moved to the heights of Nahar, an eminence seven miles
 north-east from Ramgerh, commanding a complete view
 of the Gorkha lines. As this seemed to be the most
 assailable point of their defences, General Ochterlony
 determined to erect batteries against it. A road over the
 hills for the conveyance of the heavy ordnance from
 Nalagerh was constructed with great labour; in accom-
 plishing which, twenty days were consumed. When the
 battery opened, it was found to be too distant to fire
 with effect, and a position more within the range of the
 guns was therefore to be sought for. A small party under
 the engineer officer, Lieutenant Lawtie, sent to explore
 the ground nearer to the stockade, had selected an eleva-
 tion fit for their purpose, and were on their return to
 camp, when they were surrounded by a numerous body of
 Gorkhas, by whom their movements had been observed,
 and who came down in great strength to intercept their
 retreat. Availing themselves of a small stone enclosure,
 the party defended them-selves with steady resolution
 until the failure of their ammunition compelled them to
 give way: some reinforcements, sent from the battery,
 shared in their discomfiture; and the whole were routed
 with much loss before their retreat was covered by a
 strong detachment de-patched to their succour from the

camp.¹ The affair was of little moment, except from its tendency to confirm the confidence, and unimpaired the courage, of the enemy.

Notwithstanding the check thus sustained, General Ochterlony persisted in his plan of carrying the stockaded works of Ramgerh, when news of the second repulse at Kalanga arrived; and anticipating the moral effects of this disaster, both upon his own troops and those of his antagonist, he considered it prudent to suspend offensive operations until his strength should preclude the possibility of failure. He therefore applied for reinforcements, and, while awaiting their arrival, employed himself in extending his information, and improving his means of offence. The mountain countries forming the first steps of the Himalaya range, had hitherto been unvisited by Europeans; and scenes, destined at no remote period to become their peaceable and familiar haunts, were now for the first time to be explored by them for the purposes of war. It was of indispensable necessity to ascertain the topography of the adjacent regions, the base on which the movements of the Gorkha general rested, the sources whence his supplies were drawn, and the expedients by which the latter might be cut off. Roads were also to be made practicable for artillery, as well as for troops; and something

¹ Lieutenant Williams commanding the reinforcement was killed; seventy Sipahis were killed and wounded.—Nepal Papers. Prinsep says the whole party was surrounded, and obliged to cut their way through the enemy.—Transactions, &c., I. 107. According to Fraser, the chief cause of the disaster was the defective construction of the cartouch-boxes, by which they could not be turned so as to render the cartridges in the under part of the box available when those in the upper part were expended. A cessation of the firing being thus caused, the Gorkhas rushed in and put the Sipahis to the rout.—Tour in the Himalayas, &c. The author of Military Sketches of the Gorkha War, an eyewitness, attributes the defeat to the misconduct of the troops. According to him, the party, having reached a neighbouring eminence without molestation, came suddenly upon a breastwork, from which a heavy fire was opened upon them. The men, in obedience to the commands of their officer, rushed forward and dislodged the Gorkhas with great gallantry; but when the latter were reinforced, and "came back in superior numbers, the Sipahis could not be prevented from wasting their ammunition by keeping up a useless fire. The upper layer of their cartridges being expended, some voices called out for a retreat, alleging that they would not have time to turn their boxes. The place appeared tenable with the bayonet; the Gorkhas were, however, now at hand, and arguments, threats, and entreaties, proved equally vain; our men broke in confusion, and turned their backs; the enemy plunging among the fugitives, cut to pieces all whom their swords could reach. At this time a small reinforcement, all that could be spared from the battery, was ascending the hill, under Lieutenant Williams of the 3rd N. I. It appeared the intention of that young officer to throw his party between Lawtie's and their pursuers, but he had the mortification to see his Sepoys turn about and join the flight, just before he perished himself."—Sketches, &c., p. 9.

latter strengthened, — Attacked by Amar Sing. — Valour of the Gorkhas, — Their Repulse. — Bhakti Sing Thapa killed. — Garrison evacuate Malaun. — Amar Sing capitulates. — The Country West of the Jumna ceded to the British. — Negotiations for Peace. — Conditions imposed. — Delays of the Gorkha Envoys. — Insincerity of the Court. — Hostilities renewed. — General Ochterlony commands. — Operations. — Churia-ghati Pass ascended. — Action of Mukwanpur. — Nepal Envoys arrive. — Peace concluded, — Conditions. — Objections to the War, — To the Mode of carrying it on, — Considered. — Votes of Thanks. — Results of the War.

BOOK II.

CHAP. II.

1814.

1815.

THE third division of the British forces, commanded by Major-General J. S. Wood, was assembled at Gorakhpur early in November, but was not ready to take the field before the middle of December. The destination of the division was the district of Palpa, lying beyond Bhotwal, and accessible by a difficult mountain pass. Being informed that the pass was strongly stockaded, but that it might be turned by a different route, General Wood marched on the 3rd of January to reconnoitre the stockade of Jitpur, which was situated at the foot of the Majkoto hills, one mile west of Bhotwal, which it would be necessary to carry. Detaching Major Comyn with seven companies to turn the left flank of the position, the General himself proceeded with twenty-one companies to attack it in front and on the right. The latter detachment had expected, on clearing a wood through which lay their march, to come out upon an open plain at some distance from the stockade; but the information was either erroneous or deceptive, as the General, with his staff and part of the advance, found themselves, upon emerging from the thicket, unexpectedly within fifty paces of the defences. A heavy and galling fire was at once opened upon them, which was followed by a sortie of the garrison. The arrival of the head of the column preserved them from destruction, and the Gorkhas were driven back. The main body then attacked the works in front, while one company of H. M.'s 17th, under Captain Croker, carried a hill to the right which commanded the enemy's stockade. Major Comyn meanwhile effected a passage

between the stockade and Bhotwal, and approached the eminence on which the latter was situated. There appeared to be every reasonable probability of success, when General Wood, apprehensive that it would be impossible to drive the Gorkhas from the thickets at the back of the stockade, the possession of which rendered the post untenable, determined to prevent what he considered a fruitless waste of lives, by commanding a retreat.¹ Nor did his distrust of his chances of success here terminate. Conceiving his force to be inadequate to offensive operations, he confined his measures to arrangements for the defence of the frontier, concentrating his force at Lautan, covering the road to Gorakhpur: the border line was, however, too extensive and too vulnerable to be thus protected; and the Gorkhas penetrated repeatedly at various points, inflicting serious injury, and spreading alarm throughout the whole tract. As the division moved to repress incursions in one direction, they took place in another. The town of Nichoul was burnt to ashes, and at one time Gorakhpur was scarcely considered to be safe. Reinforcements were supplied; but no better plan could be devised for counteracting the irruptions of the enemy than the retributive destruction of the crops in the lowlands belonging to them, and the removal of the population of the British territory to a greater distance from the hills.

After harassing his troops by unavailing marches against an enemy whose activity eluded pursuit, and retaliating upon the Gorkhas by wasting their fields and burning their villages, General Wood was compelled by the injunctions of the Commander-in-Chief to undertake a forward movement, and attempt the occupation of the town of Bhotwal. Having advanced to that place in the middle of April, he made some ineffectual demonstrations against it, and then returned to the plains. As exposure to the insalubrity of the climate had begun to affect the health of the troops, they were withdrawn in the beginning of May into cantonments at Gorakhpur.

The chief reliance of Lord Moira for the success of the entire plan of the campaign rested upon the division

¹ In this affair several officers were wounded, of whom Lieutenant Morrison, of the Engineers, died of his wounds.

BOOK II. which was to be directed against the Gorkha capital. The
 CHAP. II. troops were assembled at Dinapore, and commenced their
 1815. march towards Bettin on the 23rd of November. A local
 corps, the Banergh battalion, had been previously detached
 under Major Roughsedge, to join Major Bradshaw, com-
 manding on the frontier of Saran. Thus reinforced, Major
 Bradshaw proceeded to clear the frontier forests of the
 Gorkha posts. He moved on the night of the 24th of
 November, with three companies of the 15th N.I., two
 companies of the Champaran light infantry, and a troop
 of Gardner's irregular horse, to Barharwa, a plain on the
 west bank of the Bhagmati river, where Parsuram Thapa,
 'the governor of' the district, was encamped with four
 hundred men. The surprise was complete; and, although
 the Nepaleses behaved with their usual intrepidity, they
 were entirely routed. Their commander was killed, with
 fifty of his men, and many were drowned in the Bhagmati.
 One officer, Lieutenant Boileau, commanding the Com-
 missioners' escort, was wounded in a personal encounter
 with a Gorkha chief, who fell by his hand. Detachments
 under Captain Hay and Lieutenant Smith took possession
 of the post of Banergh and Parsa, in advance of Bar-
 harwa, without opposition, and the tract known as the
 Tirai was occupied, and annexed by proclamation to the
 British territories.¹

The main army arrived at Pachraota on the frontier on
 the 12th of December, and the remainder of the month
 was spent in preliminary arrangements for ascending the
 hills, and in waiting for the junction of the battering-
 train; a delay which was contrary to the tenor of General
 Marley's instructions, as it was intended that he should
 leave the guns in the rear until he had established a solid
 footing in advance. This suspension of operations al-
 lowed the Gorkhas time to recover from the alarm which
 had been spread among them by the defeat and death of
 Parsuram Thapa; and they were emboldened to undertake
 an enterprise, the successful execution of which had a
 material influence in paralysing the movements of the
 division, and frustrating the purposes of its equipment.

With a view to preserve the occupation of the Tirai
 until the arrival of the main body, Major Bradshaw had

¹ Nepal Papers, 307.

stationed Captain Hay, with the head-quarters of the Champaran light infantry, at Baragerhi; Captain Blackney, with the left wing of the second battalion of the 22nd light infantry, at Samanpur, about twenty miles on his right; Captain Sibley, with about five hundred men, at Parsa, about as many miles on Captain Hay's left. General Marley encamped near Lautan, two miles west of Baragerhi. The outposts at Samanpur and Parsa were unsupported, and no precautions were taken to secure either position by temporary defences, although they were situated in the immediate proximity of the enemy, who, as the month advanced, began to exhibit signs of increasing activity. This negligence, originating in an undue contempt of the Gorkha detachments, was signally punished. Both posts were attacked by the Gorkhas in force on the 1st of January. Captain Blackney was taken completely by surprise, and, with his second in command, was slain at the first onset. The tents were set on fire, and the troops were killed or dispersed, with the exception of a few, who were kept together by Lieut. Strettell, and conducted to Gorasahan. At Parsa, Captain Sibley had suspected an approaching attack, and applied for reinforcements. Four companies of the 15th N.I. were consequently detached on the evening of the 31st, but they arrived only in time to cover the retreat of the fugitives. That any of the party effected their escape, was owing to the Gorkhas having been engaged in plundering the tents, as the camp had been surrounded before day-break by an overpowering force. Captain Sibley, and more than half his detachment were killed, and the whole of the stores and magazines were in possession of the enemy. The result of these two affairs seems to have struck the men and their commander with unreasonable panic. Desertions were numerous; doubts were felt if much dependance could be placed on those who stood by their colours; and General Marley, impressed with the opinion that the Gorkhas were both so numerous and so daring, that, in place of advancing against them, it would be difficult to maintain a defensive attitude, and protect the borders, made a retrograde movement to the westward, in order to guard the depôt at Bettia, and provide for the security of the Saran frontier, leaving a strong

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BOOK II. division with Major Roughsedge at Baragerhi. The same
 CHAP. II. feeling of alarm infected the authorities of Gorakhpur
 1815. and Tirhut; and the approach of a Gorkha army, of irresistible strength and valour, was universally apprehended. The Gorkhas, however, were neither sufficiently numerous, nor sufficiently well apprised of the pusillanimity of their opponents, to follow up and improve their success; although they recovered the whole of the Tirai, with the exception of the country immediately protected by the military posts, and made various predatory and destructive incursions into the British territories.

Great exertions were made to add to the strength of General Marley's division; and reinforcements of troops and artillery, the former comprising his Majesty's 17th and 14th regiments, were immediately despatched to the frontier, raising the amount of the division to thirteen thousand men, a force more than adequate to encounter the whole Gorkha army, even if its numbers had approximated to the exaggerated estimates to which they had been raised by vague report and loose computation.¹ The General, nevertheless, hesitated to move; and, after spending the month of January in mischievous indecision, suddenly quitted his camp.² Colonel Dick assumed temporary command, until the arrival of Major-General George Wood, towards the end of February. On the 20th of that month a smart affair with the enemy took place, which redeemed the character and revived the spirit of the native troops. Lieutenant Pickersgill, while surveying, and attended by a small escort, came unexpectedly upon a party of four hundred Gorkhas. By skilful manœuvring he drew them from the cover of the forest towards the

¹ The Gorkhas were calculated by General Marley to be twelve thousand or even eighteen thousand strong.—Nepal Papers, 540. The real number seems to have been seven or eight thousand, of which the greater part were new and ill-armed militia. The whole regular force of the Gorkhas was computed, upon authentic information, not to exceed twelve thousand, of which one-half at least was in the Western provinces.—Lord Moira's Narrative; Nepal Papers, 724.

² He left in a rather singular manner. "He set off before daylight in the morning, without publishing any notification of his intention to the troops, and without taking any means of providing for the conduct of the ordinary routine of command."—Prinsep, i. 129. He was, no doubt, influenced by the unqualified disapprobation expressed by Lord Moira; first, of his unnecessary delay for his battering-train; and next, of his neglect in leaving distant and exposed outposts without support or reinforcements.—Lord Moira's Narrative; Nepal Papers, 745.

camp, from whence, as soon as the firing was heard, a troop of one hundred irregular horse was despatched to his succour, while Colonel Dick followed with all the picquets. Before the infantry could come up, the cavalry, joined by a number of mounted officers, charged the Gorkha detachment, when the commander, a chief of some note, and a hundred of his men, were killed; fifty were taken, and the rest fled across a rivulet, in which many were drowned. The action struck so much terror into the Nepalese, that they hastily fell back from their forward position, and again abandoned the Tirai. The road to Makwanpur was now open. A month remained for military operations before the unhealthy season commenced, the army was reinforced with European troops and artillery, and the confidence of the native soldiery was beginning to revive. General Wood, however, infected by the same spirit of caution and procrastination which had retarded the operations of his predecessor, and entertaining similar notions of the difficulties opposed to offensive movements, pleaded the advanced season of the year as an excuse for confining his operations to the plains; and after a march to Janakpur, on the Tirhut frontier, and back, by which it was ascertained that the Gorkhas had entirely evacuated the low-lands, the army was broken up and distributed in cantonments, in convenient situation along the borders, from the Gandak river to the Kusi.¹

While the two divisions in Gorakhpur and Saran disappointed the calculations upon which they had been organised, the smaller body, under Major Latter, in the same direction, had surpassed expectation, and accomplished more than it was destined to attempt. Not only had the boundary east of the Kusi river been protected from insult, but the Gorkhas had been driven from all their positions: occupation had been taken of the province of Morang, and an alliance had been formed with a hill chief, the Raja of Sikim, a small state east of Nepal; which, while it rescued him from the risk of being

¹ Nepal Papers, 560. As Captain Sutherland observes, "the results of the first campaign must have confounded the calculations of the noble Marquis, and every one else. That portion of the army with which it was meant to make an impression on the enemy in the seat of his power remained inactive, whilst the skirmishes on the left flank, which could have been only intended to produce a diversion, succeeded to an extent that shook the Gorkha on his throne."—*Pol. Relations*, 37.

BOOK II. crushed by his ambitious neighbour, gave the British a
 CHAP. II. useful confederate, and additional means of acting upon
 the resources of the enemy.¹

1815.

Another element in the plan of the campaign, intended to take but a subordinate and contingent share, was equally attended with success, and was productive of highly important consequences. The province of Kamaon, forming the central part of the Gorkha conquests, was under the authority of a chief, Chautra Bam Sah, who was known to be disaffected to the ruling dynasty of Nepal; while the people of Kamaon, and the adjacent province of Gerhwal, who had been subject to the Raja of Srinagar, but had been alienated by his tyrannical conduct, and had consequently facilitated the Gorkha invasion, were now as hostile to their new and not less oppressive rulers, and were anxious to transfer their allegiance to the British. No serious obstacles were thought likely, therefore, to impede the British possession of the country, and its occupation was strongly recommended by its central situation. The want of a disposable force delayed for some time any attempt to enter the district, and it was at length determined to commence operations with a body of irregulars, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner, an officer of merit, who had risen to notice and distinction in the service of the Raja of Jaypur. On the 15th of February, Colonel Gardner ascended the hills; the Gorkhas fell back, occasionally skirmishing with the detachment, but offering no resolute resistance. The gallant bearing of the irregulars, consisting chiefly of natives of Rohilkhand, and the judicious dispositions of their leader, dislodged the enemy from every position, until they had concentrated their force upon the ridge on which stands the town of Almora.

During the advance of Colonel Gardner, another body of irregular troops, commanded by Captain Hearsay, entered the province by the Timli pass, near the Gogra river, in order to create a diversion in Colonel Gardner's favour, and prevent Gorkha reinforcements from crossing the river. This movement, also, was at first successful. Captain Hearsay took possession of the chief town of the district, and laid siege to a hill-fort in its vicinity: here,

¹ Nepal Papers, 560.

however, he was attacked by Hasti Dal Chautra, the Gorkha commander of the adjoining district of Dutti, and was defeated and taken prisoner. He was conducted to Almora, to which the Gorkhas repaired to assist in its defence.

The importance of securing and extending the advantages obtained in Kamaon determined the Governor-General to send a regular force into that quarter; and Lieutenant-Colonel Nicolls, of his Majesty's 14th regiment, was despatched thither to take the command, with three battalions of Native infantry and a proportion of field artillery.¹ Colonel Nicolls joined the troops before Almora on the 8th of April. The Gorkhas were nothing daunted by his arrival; and, whatever inclination Bam Sah had originally manifested to join the invaders, no indication of any disposition to surrender the fortress entrusted to his charge was exhibited: he had been taught, no doubt, by the little progress which the British arms had yet made, to question the probability of their ultimate triumph, and to adhere to the safer path of fidelity to his sovereign. Almora was resolutely defended, and measures were taken to render the position of the besiegers untenable. On the 21st, Hasti Dal marched from Almora to occupy a mountain pass on the north of the British camp. He was immediately followed by Major Paton, with five companies of the 2nd battalion of the 5th, as many companies of the light battalion, and a company of irregulars: the enemy were overtaken on the evening of the 22nd of April, and, after a spirited action, put to flight with the loss of their commander. No time was suffered to efface the effects of this discomfiture. On the 25th, a general attack was made on the stockaded defences of the hill of Sitauli, in front of Almora, which were all carried after a short resistance, and the troops, following up their success, established themselves within the town: a vigorous effort was made at night by the garrison to recover possession of the posts, and, for a time, a part was regained, but the Gorkhas were finally repulsed. On the following morning the troops were advanced to within seventy yards of the fort, and mortars were opened

¹ The 2nd battalion of the 14th, 2nd of the 5th, flank battalion from the Dén; four 6-pounders, two 12-pounders, and four mortars.

BOOK II. upon the works; the effect of which was soon discernible
 CHAP. II. in the desertion of great numbers of the defenders. A flag
 1816. of truce was sent out by the commandant, and, after a
 short negotiation, the Gorkhas were allowed to retire
 across the Kali, with their arms and personal property;
 and the fort of Almora, with the provinces of Kamaon
 and Garhwal, were ceded to the British. They were per-
 manently annexed to the British territories.¹

The conquest thus achieved was the first blow of im-
 portance suffered by the Government of Nepal, and inti-
 mated to it, in intelligible terms, the consequences to be
 anticipated from a prolongation of the contest. The
 celerity with which it was effected, although ascribable in
 some degree to the favourable temper of the inhabitants,
 was still more to be attributed to the gallantry and
 activity of Colonel Gardner, and the vigour and judgment
 of his successor in the command. The moral influence of
 character in the leaders, upon the courage of the troops,
 was strikingly exemplified in this short campaign: the
 victory was won by Native troops alone: and the same
 men, who had in other places behaved with unsteadiness
 or cowardice, here, almost invariably, displayed personal
 firmness and intrepidity.

While these transactions occurred upon the eastern line
 of operations, others, of varying influence upon the objects
 of the campaign, took place in the west. Little progress
 had been made by the division of General Martindell.
 This division had continued to be encamped against the
 fort of Jytak, but no serious impression had been effected.
 Heavy ordnance had been carried up the mountain with
 prodigious labour and protracted delay; and, on the 20th
 of March, a battery, having been opened upon the first of
 the stockades, levelled it, in the course of one day, with the
 ground. No attempt was made to advance the batteries
 sufficiently near to bear upon the remaining defences, the
 General being apprehensive that it would bring down the
 whole garrison upon his positions. He therefore decided
 to try the result of a blockade. In furtherance of this

¹ Nepal Papers, 570. The total loss in the Kamaon campaign was one hundred and eighty killed and wounded. The only officer killed was Lieutenant Tapley of the 27th N.I., doing duty with the flank battalion, who was shot on the night of the 26th of April.

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project, Major Richards was sent on the 1st of April to occupy a station on the ridge east of the fort. He accomplished the duty assigned him, and, pursuing his advantage, drove the Gorkhas from several stockades, until he reached the point which he judged best adapted to intercept all communication in that direction with the fort. Other advantageous stations were occupied with equal success; and Jytak would probably have been reduced by famine, had not its fall been accelerated by the brilliant result of General Ochterlony's contest with Amar Sing.

Having reduced all the detached Gorkha posts, and confined them to the heights of Malaun, and having all his force disposable, General Ochterlony judged that the time had arrived to straiten the enemy still further by breaking through his defences, and taking such positions in the line as should cut off the communication between the two forts on which it rested, Surajgerh and Malaun. The British camp was pitched at Battoh, on the northern bank of the Gamrora, a small stream running immediately at the foot of the Malaun range. Looking southward from the encampment, the Gorkha posts were descried stretching along the summit of the mountain, having the fort of Malaun on the extreme right, that of Surajgerh on the extreme left: most of the intermediate peaks being occupied, and stockaded. The stockades were strongest in the vicinity of Malaun; and directly below the fort, on the slope of the hill, lay the Gorkha cantonments, similarly protected. On the right of Malaun, upon an eminence of somewhat less altitude, and separated from it by deep ravines, was situated the fort of Ratangerh, which had been occupied, as has been mentioned, by Colonel Arnold. The fort of Surajgerh was observed by a detachment under Captain Stewart, stockaded upon a contiguous elevation. In the course of the works upon the top of the ridge there appeared to be two assailable points: one of them, named Ryla, was unprotected, except by the posts on the adjacent peaks; the other, termed Deothal, lying more to the right and nearer to Malaun, was defended by a stockade, but not in great strength. As the possession of these two points would separate Malaun from most of its dependent outworks, General Ochterlony determined

BOOK II. to attempt their capture, distracting at the same time
 CHAP. II. the attention of the enemy by an attack upon the cantonments.

1815.

For the occupation of Ryla, a detachment of two companies of light infantry, and a considerable body of irregulars, under Lieutenants Fleming and Grant, ascended the mountain on the night of the 14th of April, and effected a lodgement. Before they could be attacked, they were joined by a division under Captain Hamilton, and a grenadier battalion from head-quarters; and the whole, under Major Innis, established themselves firmly in their position. At the same time, day-break of the 15th, Lieutenant-Colonel Thompson, with two battalions of the 3rd N. I. and two field-pieces, left the camp for Deothal; and Major Lawrie, with the 2nd battalion of the 7th and a body of irregulars, moved in the same direction from the village of Kali, on the right of the camp. From the latter column, a detachment under Captain Bowyer, of two hundred and sixty regular and five hundred picked irregular troops, diverged to the right towards the Gorkha cantonments, to co-operate with Captain Showers, who was to march upon the same point from Ratangerh, with a force of equal strength, similarly composed.

The columns under Colonel Thompson and Major Lawrie ascending the hill united about ten o'clock, and, moving briskly to Deothal, quickly carried the post. Colonel Thompson, leaving Major Lawrie at Deothal with the rest of the force, put himself at the head of the light infantry, and advanced to the right with the intention of seizing a stockade within battering distance of the fort of Malaun. The Gorkhas, lurking behind rocks and bushes, kept up an annoying fire upon the column, but failed to arrest its progress until it had neared the stockade, when a small but resolute body of the enemy rushed suddenly from their lurking-places among the leading files, and, attacking them with their heavy swords, cut down many, and filled the rest with so much terror, that, in spite of the exertions of their officers, they fell back in confusion to the point they had recently quitted. Fortunately, the men left with Major Lawrie stood firm; and, the foremost of the pursuers falling under their fire, the pursuit was checked, and the fugitives were rallied. The Gorkhas

Arnold from Batangreh. The fugitives also rallied, and the Gurkhas were compelled to retrace their steps up the hill. The party under Captain Boyer met with better fortune. He had made some way towards his destination, and taken up a position in the village of Malaun, before he was attacked by the Gurkhas. The irregulars fled upon the approach of the enemy, but the regular troops were steady, and made good their footing; but, observing the discomfiture of the detachment which was to have joined him, Captain Boyer confined himself to a defensive attitude until the evening, when he was withdrawn; no further benefit being attainable from his advance.

As the British position at Deothal was not likely to be long held with impunity, great exertions were made during the 15th to render it as strong as possible: reinforcements were despatched; defences of the nature of a stockade, as strong as circumstances permitted, were constructed; and two field-pieces were rent up, and planted in the embrasures. On the other hand, Amar Sing, anticipating the fall of Malaun from so near an approach of the British, resolved to make a desperate attempt to drive them down the mountain again; and for this purpose placed his whole force under the command of Bhakti

BOOK II. Sing Thapa, the commandant of Surajgerh, a leader of
 CHAP. II. known intrepidity, whilst he supported the attack in
 1816. person. At day-break on the 16th, the Gorkhas advanced to the assault in a semicircle along the ridge and the declivity on either hand, so as to turn both flanks of the position. Bhakti Sing headed the charge; while Amar Sing with his youngest son took his station within musket-shot with the Gorkha standard, urging the backward and animating the bold. The Gorkhas displayed the most undaunted resolution, advancing to the very muzzles of the guns, and endeavouring to strike down their opponents over their bayonets. Although repeatedly swept away by the discharge of grape from the two field-pieces which commanded the approach, they returned to the attack with such obstinacy, and kept up so close and destructive a fire upon them, that all by whom the guns were served were either killed or disabled, except three privates and as many officers, by whom alone they at last were worked.¹ The action had lasted two hours, when reinforcements from the post of Ryla having joined, and it being evident that the spirit of the enemy was beginning to fail, while that of the Sipahis rose with the continuance of successful resistance, Colonel Thompson commanded a charge with the bayonet to be made by the regular troops, and the irregulars to fall on, sword in hand. The charge was led by Major Lawrie. The Gorkhas gave way and fled, leaving their brave commander, Bhakti Thapa, dead on the field. Amar Sing collected the fugitives, and retired into the fort.² The body of Bhakti Sing, when found, was decently wrapped in shawls, and

¹ The officers were Lieutenant Cartwright of the Artillery, Lieutenant Armstrong of the Pioneers, and Lieutenant Hutchinson of the Engineers.

² The slain of the enemy exceeded five hundred. The loss of the British was two hundred and thirteen killed and wounded: Lieutenant Bagot, of the Pioneers, died of his wounds. Although not included in the loss on this occasion, a short subsequent period deprived the army of one of its most efficient officers, in the death of Lieutenant Lawrie, the field-engineer, whose public deserts were thus recorded by the Commander-in-chief: "It is painful to think that an individual, whose skill, whose judgment, and whose animated devotion materially forwarded the proud result, should not have survived to share in the triumph; but the grateful recollection of his fellow-soldiers and of Government will associate the memory of Lieutenant Lawrie with all the trophies which he so eminently contributed to raise." Lieutenant Lawrie died at the early age of twenty-four of fever, brought on by the fatigues and exposure he had undergone. The army went into mourning, and afterwards erected a monument to his memory in the Cathedral Church of Calcutta.—Nepal Papers, 591; Military Sketches of the Gorkha War, p. 33.

sent to his countrymen. On the following day, two of his wives burnt themselves with his corpse in the sight of both armies.

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The repulse of their attack upon the post of Deothal so completely depressed the courage of the Gorkha army, that little opposition was offered to the subsequent arrangements of General Ochterlony for the closer investment of Malaun. Most of the exterior works had fallen during the last half of April. On the 8th of May a battery of heavy guns had opened upon the principal redoubt, and preparations for storming were commenced, when the main body of the garrison quitted Malaun without arms, and gave themselves up to the nearest British post,—unable longer to endure the hardships which they suffered from the blockade, seeing no prospect of being relieved, and being unsuccessful in their endeavours to prevail on Amar Sing to surrender. As the chief with a few of his adherents still maintained a show of resistance, guns were opened on the 10th of May upon the fort, and their fire continued during the day. On the following morning Amar Sing sent his son to intimate his father's desire to negotiate; and a convention was finally concluded with him, by which he consented to give up all the possessions of the Gorkhas on the west of the Jumna, and to send orders for the evacuation of Gerhwal. Amar Sing with the garrison of Malaun, Ranjor Sing with part of that of Jytak, and all members of the Thapa family, were allowed to return to Nepal with their private property and military equipments. The men were left the choice of departing for Nepal, or taking service with the British; and, most of them having preferred the latter alternative, they were formed into battalions for duty in the hills, for which they were peculiarly fit.

The discomfiture of their most distinguished officers, and the loss of their most valuable conquests, lowered the confident tone of the Government of Nepal, and induced it to sue for peace. Bam Sah Chautra was authorised to communicate with the British Commissioner in Kamaon; and Gaj Raj Misr, the spiritual teacher or Guru of the late Raja was summoned from his retirement at Benares, and sent as a more formal envoy to treat with Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw, who had been empowered by the

BOOK II. Governor-General to conclude a pacification on prescribed conditions. These were, 1, the relinquishment of all claims on the hill Rajas¹ west of the Kali river; 2, the cession of the whole of the Tirai, or low-lands, at the foot of the hills along the Gorkha frontier; 3, the restoration to the Sikim Raja of all territory wrested from him, with the cession of two stockaded forts, and, 4, the admission of a Resident at Khatmandu. The first and third conditions were submitted to, and the mission of a Resident reluctantly acquiesced in; but the cession of the Tirai was a demand which the Court of Nepal pertinaciously resisted.

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The Tirai, or low-land of Nepal, extends from the Tista river on the east, to the Ganges on the west. It forms a grassy plain at the foot of the hills, which are fringed by a belt of forest, and divided into various irregular portions by the numerous and large rivers which cross it, from north to south, on their way from the mountains to the main stream of the Ganges. It is in general not above twenty miles in breadth, but is, with local intervals, above five hundred in length. From the copiousness of its natural irrigation, the soil is peculiarly fertile, is clothed throughout the year with a rich carpet of verdure, and, where cultivated, is productive of abundant crops of rice: and although from the same cause it is at different seasons of the year especially insalubrious, yet during the healthy months much cultivation is carried on, and grain is raised for exportation;² while spots least favourable for agriculture afford a coarse but exuberant pasture for the herds and flocks from the adjacent hills. From these circumstances, the Tirai yielded a valuable revenue to the Court of Nepal, of which it could not afford to endure the deprivation; and the interests of the state were powerfully enforced by those of influential individuals, as the principal chiefs and military leaders derived their subsistence mainly from Jagirs situated in this quarter.³ On the other hand, an exaggerated opinion

¹ They were the Rajas of Kahlur, Hindur, Sirmor, Bisahar, Keonthal, Bagul, Jubal, and Gerhwal.—Prinsep, 177.

² Hamilton's (Buchanan) Account of Nepal.

³ It was stated by the Gorkha chiefs to Mr. Gardner, the British Commissioner in Kamaon, that most of the military leaders and their followers derived their support from lands in the Tirai; that the Raja's household ex-

of the productiveness of the Tirai rendered the British Government equally anxious to retain it in their possession, as the only source whence any compensation for the charges of the war could be expected. It was also considered desirable to hold it, in order to preclude the repetition of those border quarrels in which the recent hostilities had originated.

The negotiations, which began in May, were protracted through the rainy season, when military operations were necessarily suspended. The Court of Nepal appeared disposed to concede the points demanded, and letters from the Raja and the Regent gave to the Nepal Commissioners full authority to conclude the negotiation.¹ Although nothing was definitively settled, the Government of Bengal, under an impression that the Nepal Government was sincere, professed a willingness to make some modifications of the original plan; the low-lands from the Kali to the Gandak were insisted on; but from the Gandak to the Kusi, along the frontiers of Saran and Tirkhut, only those portions were to be retained into which the British authority had been already introduced. The district of Morang, between the Kusi and the Michi, was to be given up, leaving a narrow tract east of the Michi, between it and the Tista, to preserve a communication with Sikim. Pensions to the annual extent of two lakhs of rupees were offered as an indemnification to the chiefs who had Jagirs in the districts which were to be separated from Nepal.² These terms were made known to the Court of Khatmandu in the early part of September, but no answer was received until the 29th of October, when the commutation of the proposed pensions for further portions of the Tirai was stipulated for. This was declared by Lieut.-Colonel Bradshaw to be inadmissible, and the

penses were defrayed from the same source; and that of twenty lakhs of rupees a-year the revenue of Nepal, Tirai alone yielded ten lakhs.—Nepal Papers, 776 and 810.

¹ The letter from the Raja was thus expressed: "The country of Kamaon on the west, and the Tirai, have been conquered by the British Government. With regard to those conquests, whatever may be the result of these negotiations will be approved by me. Do not entertain any doubt on this head, but pursue the course which shall establish friendship between the two states." And Bhim Sen, while he notices that there is a party opposed to the peace, adds, that whatever the Commissioners should do or say, he would advocate the same with the Raja, and obtain his confirmation.—MS. Records.

² Draft of Treaty, Nepal Papers, 835.

As soon as the purpose of the Gorkha Government was detected, active preparations were set on foot for a vigorous renewal of hostilities. Upon the abandonment of the provinces west of the Kali, by the Gorkhas, the regular troops employed in that quarter had been marched to their stations, with the exception of small garrisons in the principal forts, and the irregulars had been dismissed, except the Gorkha battalions, to whom principally the defence of the conquered provinces was entrusted. The Gorakhpur and Saran divisions had, however, been held in readiness on the frontier, or at Dinapore, in anticipation of the possibility of a second campaign; and they were quickly collected under Major-General Sir David Ochterlony,¹ who was invested with the chief political as well as military authority. The Gorkhas, on their part, strongly fortified the passes by which an army might penetrate into the hills, on the route towards Makwanpur, and the valley of Nepal.

By the beginning of February, Sir David Ochterlony had taken the field with a force of nearly seventeen thousand men, including three King's regiments. This he disposed in four brigades,² severally commanded by Colonel Kelly, of his Majesty's 24th; Lieutenant-Colonel Nicoll, of the 66th; Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, of the 87th; and Lieutenant-Colonel Burnet, of the 8th N. I. The first was detached to the right, to penetrate by Hariharpur; the second to the left, to enter the hills at Ramnagar; General Ochterlony, with the other two brigades, marched on the 12th of February, from Simlabasa, through the forest to the foot of the Bichu-koh, or Chiria-ghati pass, formed by the bed of a mountain torrent. Whilst encamped at this place, the Gorkha Commissioners arrived

¹ General Ochterlony had been created a Baronet after the surrender of Malau; he had previously been gazetted a Knight Commander of the Bath. All the field-officers serving at Malau were made Companions of the Bath.

² They were composed as follows: 1st brigade of his Majesty's 24th, 1st battalion 15th N. I., divisions of the 2nd battalion and the Champaran L. I.; 2nd brigade of his Majesty's 66th, 5th and 6th grenadier battalions N. I.; 1st battalion of the 8th and 2nd of the 15th; 3rd brigade of his Majesty's 87th, 2nd battalions of the 15th, 22nd, and 25th N. I.; 4th brigade, 2nd battalions of the 4th, 5th, 10th, and 15th N. I., and part of the 1st battalion of the 25th, with details of artillery, pioneers, and irregular horse. Two other divisions were also formed: one at Sahpur, in Oude, under Colonel J. Nicoll, intended to enter the district of Dault, between the Kali and Rapti rivers; the other at Gorakhpur, under Major-General J. S. Wood, intended as a reserve.—Nepal Papers, 9-2.

BOOK II. from Khatorvada; but, instead of the ratified treaty, they
 CHAP. II. brought repeated demands for territorial concession, and
 a proposal that the pecuniary compensation should be
 1817. paid to the Raja, not to his officers. As they were
 informed that the ratification of the treaty must precede
 all subordinate arrangements, they shortly left the camp.

The Chiria-ghati pass, in addition to its own difficulties, was defended by successive tiers of strong stockades, and could not have been forced by an attack in front without disproportionate loss. After some delay, another access to the mountains was discovered, and which, although difficult and dangerous, was undefended. It was, in fact, little better than a dark and deep ravine, between lofty and precipitous banks clothed with trees, whose intermingling branches over head excluded the light of day. The General, leaving the fourth brigade on the ground, and his tents standing, marched at night on the 14th of February, with the third brigade, and wound his way slowly and laboriously up the pass, almost in single file; Sir David Ochterlony marching on foot at the head of the 67th regiment, leading the column. After proceeding some distance, the troops emerged into more open, but broken, ground, whence they again entered into a water course; this led to the foot of a steep acclivity, about three hundred feet high, up which the advance clambered with the assistance of the projecting boughs and rocks.

It was eight in the morning before the advance reached the summit, and nine at night before the rear-guard ascended; the day being spent in getting up the remainder of the men, with a couple of field-pieces. The troops marched five miles from the top of the pass before they found a supply of water, when the brigade halted, while the pioneers were busily employed in rendering the ascent practicable for laden cattle, and stores, and ammunition, which was the work of three days.¹ On the fourth, the General moved to Hetaunda, on the bank of the Rapti, where he was joined by the fourth brigade, which had mounted the hills by the Chiria-ghati pass, from the

¹ Besides the official despatches, particular and graphic descriptions of the ascent of the Balukola ravine are given by the author of *Military Sketches of the Gorkha War*, p. 29, and by Lieutenant Shipp, a Lieutenant of the 67th regiment.—See his *Memoirs*, li. 63.

stockades of which the Gorkhas retired when they found that the position had been turned. BOOK II.
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After making the arrangements necessary for securing the communications in his rear, General Ochterlony advanced, on the 27th of February, to the fortified heights of Makwanpur, and encamped on a piece of level ground two miles to their south. The town and fort lay to the right of the camp: opposite to its left was the village of Sekhar-khatri, held by a strong detachment of the enemy; but they evacuated it on the following morning, and it was immediately taken possession of by three companies of the 25th N. I. and forty men of the 87th. They were not long unmolested. At noon, the Gorkhas returned in greater force, and endeavoured to recover the position; they drove in the picquets, and fell upon the village with great impetuosity; but the flank companies of the 87th, and the rest of the 25th, having been despatched to reinforce the post as soon as the firing commenced, arrived in time to check the fury of the assailants. Fresh numbers of the enemy poured along the summit of the heights from Makwanpur, to the extent of at least two thousand men: reinforcements were also sent from the camp, of two companies of the 87th and the 12th Native corps, and, after repeated attacks, the Gorkhas were finally repulsed. Although forced to retreat, they fell back only to a neighbouring eminence, from which they kept up a galling fire, until they were dislodged by the bayonets of the 8th N. I. The action lasted from noon till five o'clock, when it became dark. The Nepalese loss was computed at five hundred: of the British, forty-five were killed, and one hundred and seventy-five wounded.¹ On the following day the division was joined by the first brigade, under Colonel Nicoll, who had ascended the mountains by a pass on the north of Ramnagar, and marched up the valley of the Rapti without encountering an enemy.

The second brigade, commanded by Colonel Kelly, succeeded in ascending the mountains to the south of the fort of Hariharpur, by a route which had not been stockaded. Finding the fort unassailable on the quarter by

¹ Lieutenant Tirrell, of the 20th regiment, was killed in the first assault on the village.—Nepal Papers, 987. A Gorkha chief was killed in single combat by Lieutenant Shipp.—Memoirs, ii. 102; Prinsep's History, i. 199.

BOOK II. which he had advanced, Colonel Kelly moved round to a
 CHAP. II. village on its west. The approach to the fort was pro-
 tected by a strong semicircular stockade, with two guns,
 the flanks of which rested on perpendicular rocks. This
 defence was, however, counteracted by an eminence at a
 distance of about eight hundred yards, which the Gorkhas
 had neglected to occupy in strength, and which was, there-
 fore, carried without much difficulty by a detachment
 under Lieutenant-Colonel O'Halloran. The party was
 scarcely in position when it was attacked by a superior
 force, and an obstinate struggle ensued, which continued for
 five hours, when some field-pieces having been carried up
 decided the contest. The Gorkhas fled from their fire;
 and the result seems to have so disheartened the garrison,
 that on the following day the fort was abandoned by the
 commandant, Ranjor Sing Thapa, the chief who had so
 gallantly defended the fort of Jytak in the previous
 campaign.¹

Immediately after the action at Sekhar-khatri, prepara-
 tions were set on foot for erecting batteries against the
 stockades and fort of Makwanpur; but, before they were
 well opened, operations were arrested by the apprehensions
 of the Government of Nepal. The commandant, who was
 the brother of the Regent, sent word to Sir David Ochter-
 lony that he had received the ratified treaty from his
 court, and requested permission to send an authorised
 agent in charge of it to the British camp. The envoy was
 received accordingly on the 3rd of March; but the treaty
 was not accepted without the additional stipulation, that
 the cession of territory exacted from Nepal, should com-
 prehend the country conquered in the actual campaign,
 and the valley of the Rapti. The Commissioner and the
 Governor of Makwanpur acceded to the conditions, and
 their acquiescence was confirmed by the Raja. Peace
 between the two states was consequently re-established.

The principal conditions of the treaty have already been
 adverted to; but, in their execution, the British Resident
 appointed to Khatmandu, the Honourable Mr. Gardner,
 was authorised to commute the proposed annual pensions
 for restoration of a portion of the Tirai conveniently
 separated from the British boundary. The proposal was

¹ Nepal Papers, 240.

gladly accepted. A line of demarcation generally was agreed to, to be determined by subsequent survey; and a considerable tract between the Michi and Gandak rivers, exclusive of a small space on the Saran frontier, but comprehending Bhotwal, was restored to the Nepalese. A treaty was at the same time concluded with the Sikim Raja, by which he was guaranteed in the possession of his territory on condition of his submitting all disputes between him and his neighbours of Nepal, to the arbitration of the Government of Bengal, joining its troops when employed in the mountains, and affording protection and encouragement to merchants and traders from the Company's territories. On the west of Nepal, the provinces of Kamaon and Gerhwal, the valleys above the first range of hills, and some military posts were annexed to the British possessions; while the petty hill Rajas lying still more to the west and north, were mostly re-established in their principalities under the general stipulation of allegiance and subordination to the British authority. The Raja of Nepal died shortly after the close of hostilities, and was succeeded by an infant son. The regency continued in the hands of Bhim sen Thapa, and the event occasioned no change in the relations established between the two Courts; which, although no cordiality has been manifested by the Nepal Government, has ever since continued undisturbed.

Thus terminated a war which presented many features of a novel aspect, and which in its outset threatened to tarnish the splendour of the British military character in India. The causes of disappointment rested, in some cases, with the commanders of the several divisions, who, alarmed by discomfiture brought on by precipitation, or by injudicious arrangements, fell into the error of exaggerating the resources of the enemy, and, with the exception of Sir David Ochterlony, distrusted their ability to cope with the Nepalese. In some respects, also, the Native troops failed to maintain their reputation. Unaccustomed to a country the broken surface of which often rendered it impossible for them to observe the compact order on which they had been trained to rely for support, and startled by the unusual charge of the Gorkhas, who, like the Highlanders of North Britain, rushed, after firing their

BOOK II. matchlocks, sword in hand, and in fierce though disorderly
 CHAP. II. masses, upon the ranks of their adversaries, they exhibited,
 1815. in some of the early actions, a want of steadiness which proved fatal to themselves, and embarrassing to their leaders. With experience came a juster appreciation of their own strength, and of that of their opponents; and on the heights of Malaun and Makwanpur, the Sipahis gallantly redeemed their reputation.

The occurrence of hostilities so immediately after the renewal of the Company's charter, and the diversion to military expenditure of the funds with which many of the members of the Court of Directors had confidently expected that the competition to which the Company's trade was now exposed might be advantageously encountered,¹ produced in the Court a strong feeling of opposition to the war, and induced a considerable and influential party to deny its necessity,² and to condemn the mode in which it had been conducted. We may pause to consider briefly how far they were warranted in their conclusions.

The encroachments of the Nepalese were not the sudden growth of a recently awakened spirit of presumption, or a

¹ In the Letters of the Court, of the 13th October, 1815, they write:—"We find, with extreme concern, that the effects of the Nepalese war are so strongly felt in your financial department, as to induce the apprehension that the advances to be issued for our European investment will be reduced to a very small sum indeed. . . . If the advances for the investment are to be withheld, the sales at this house for Indian goods will soon be brought to a stand; in which case, not only will the operations of our home finances be impeded, but it will also involve the impossibility of our being able to afford to India the assistance, in the event of the continuance of warfare, which would be so necessary, and which we should be so desirous to furnish."—Nepal Papers, 545. The necessity of supplying funds from home was little likely to arise, unless those which were available for political disbursements were absorbed in the purchase of commercial investments.

² The Court of Directors expressed a confident hope that, "as the result of the local inquiries had satisfied you of the Company's right to the disputed lands, the Government of Nepal would yield to your application for the surrender of those lands, without your being under the necessity of having recourse to more decided measures."—Letter to Bengal: Nepal Papers, 547. The expectation was based upon a very inaccurate knowledge of the temper of the Gurkha Government, and the necessity of having recourse to arms was recognised by the Court in a dispatch, dated 15th July, 1814. The necessity of the war was further demonstrated by Lord Hastings in a letter to the Chairman; and, as there stated, he was pledged to a definite course by the measures of his predecessor. The alternative of hostilities was the decision of Lord Minto. Lord Moira observes: "In this state I found things. I certainly had an option; I might shrink from the declaration plighted by Lord Minto, abandoning the property of the Company, sacrificing the safety of our subjects, and staining the character of our Government, or I had to act up to the engagements bequeathed to me, and to reprove the trespass of an insatiable neighbour. That I should have chosen the latter alternative will hardly afford ground for censure."—Nepal Papers, 992.

transitory ebullition of overweening pride. They were the deliberate and progressive crop of a long series of years, and had not even yet attained their full development. They were the result of a uniform and consistent design against the integrity of the Company's dominions. They had been long leniently dealt with; calm expostulations and menacing remonstrances had been tried repeatedly; and, finally, an amicable adjustment by an appeal to evidence and proofs of various kinds, had been attempted, but all conciliatory measures had been tried in vain. Aggressions were committed almost in the presence of the Commissioners professing to conduct a friendly and impartial investigation, and promises to abide by their decision were evaded or disregarded. It was evident that forbearance only gave audacity to insult, and boldness to usurpation; and the only questions that remained for consideration were, the relinquishment of the disputed lands, or the assertion of the right to them by arms.

All history records the impolicy of yielding to the demands of barbarians. Concession invariably inspires them with presumption, and stimulates them to fresh exactions. It would have been contrary to all experience to have relied upon the pacific effects of giving way to the pretensions of Nepal, to have expected that the Court of Khatmandu would have been soothed into moderation by acquiescence in its claims. Such an expectation was in an especial manner unwarranted by the known character of the Gorkha Government, whose whole policy for half a century had been the extension of their possessions, and who were confirmed in their notions of the wisdom of their policy by the success with which it had been almost invariably pursued. It might have been thought likely that they would nevertheless have paused before they provoked the enmity of a power so superior as the British to the unwarlike and disunited principalities over which they had triumphed; but an accurate comparison of resources, and appreciation of means, were scarcely to be expected from a cabinet so imperfectly instructed as that of Khatmandu in the circumstances of its neighbours, so strongly impelled by personal interests, and so deeply swayed by arrogance and passion. We have seen that the war-party anticipated little more peril from hostilities

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with the British, than with a petty Raja of the hills; and that, confiding in their past fortunes, the courage of their troops, and the strength of their country, they entertained no doubt of keeping their antagonist at bay until he should be weary of the contest. Nor did they depend solely upon their own means of resistance. They calculated upon the co-operation of still more powerful allies; and, endeavouring to interest Ranjit Sing, Sindhia, the Raja of Bhurtpur, Mir Khan, and even the Pindaris, in their quarrel,¹ they sanguinely anticipated that the reverses experienced by the British arms would be the signal for a general rising of the Princes of Hindustan.² The crisis was not altogether impossible; and a continued repetition of the disasters of the first campaign might have seriously compromised the peace and security of the British empire in India.

A danger of a less formidable nature presented itself in the interposition of the Government of China, to which the Court of Khatmandu had earnestly appealed at an early period of the war, ascribing its origin to the refusal to give a passage through Nepal to a British force intended to take possession of Lassa. The Court of Pekin, although suspecting the truth of the story,³ appears to have been seriously alarmed; and troops were despatched to reinforce those stationed in Tibet: a considerable body was assembled at Digarchi, and moved towards the frontier; but as its advance occurred no sooner than August, 1816, hostilities were at an end. Explanations had also been

¹ A mission was also sent, in the beginning of 1816, by Amar Sing to Ava. His death, which happened in the early part of the year, put an end to the activity of these intrigues, although they were not entirely abandoned by the court of Nepal until the breaking out of the Pindari war.—MS. Records.

² Proofs were obtained by the Resident at Gwalior that these several powers had been addressed by the chief officers of Nepal: To Sindhia accredited agents were deputed. Letters from Namdar Khan, the Pindari, to Sindhia, were detected, mentioning the application made to him and Mir Khan.—MS. Records. A Vakil, sent by Amar Sing to Ranjit Sing, offered to pay largely for his assistance, and to place the fort of Malaun in his hands. He affirmed that the Nawab Vizir, the Mahrattas, and the Rohillas, were all ready to rise as soon as they heard of the Sikh chieftains joining the Gorkhas. Ranjit was too shrewd to be caught by these assertions, and inferred from the offers made to him that the Gorkhas were hard pressed.—Nepal Papers, 559. That some of the Native Princes looked anxiously to the course of the war, and built upon it hopes of being enabled to resist the British power in the collision which was at this time menaced, was established by subsequent events. A correspondence between Sindhia and the Gorkha Government was intercepted.

³ A letter from the Government of Pekin observed: "If your statement be true, if the English be the aggressors, they shall suffer; if the Gorkhas, the country shall be swept clean."

exchanged between the Chinese authorities and the Governor-General, which furnished the former with a reasonable plea for discontinuing their hostile indications.¹ They adopted the safe course of venting their displeasure upon their allies, and treated the Nepalese envoys sent to their camp, with great indignity.² Their overbearing demeanour excited the apprehensions of the Court of Khatmandu, who were glad to deprecate the anger of the Emperor by a penitential mission to Peking.

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To return, however, to the consideration of the general question: Admitting that war was inevitable, it became a subject of question whether it was judiciously carried on. The comparative merits of a defensive or offensive system have already been considered; and it has been attempted to shew that the latter realized the advantages and avoided the inconveniences of the former, and was alone likely to lead to a speedy termination of the disputes between the two powers. It is only necessary here to observe, that practical demonstration was afforded of the futility of the defensive plan, by the actual occurrences on the frontier

¹ The Chinese Commander-in-chief professed to be satisfied with the explanation of the causes of the war, and the conduct of the English, as furnished by his correspondence with the Governor-General and the British authorities on the frontier. At the request of the Court, however, he so far interfered in their behalf as to suggest the withdrawal of the British Resident. You "mention that you have stationed a Vakil in Nepal. This is a matter of no consequence; but as the Raja, from his youth and inexperience, and from the novelty of the thing, has imbibed some suspicions, if you would, out of kindness to us, and in consideration of the ties of friendship, withdraw your Vakil, it would be better, and we should feel very much obliged to you."—Letter from Shi-Chuin-Chang, Vazir. To this it was replied, that a Resident on the part of some civilized power was necessary, in order to investigate and suppress at once any border quarrels that might be occasioned by the unrestrained violence of a barbarous people; and that, if the Emperor of China would appoint an officer on his part to reside at Khatmandu, that would equally well answer the object. The Vazir on this acquiesced in the arrangement; for as to the alternative, he observed it was not the custom of the Court of Peking to depute their officers to foreign Courts, as the traders at Canton could inform the Governor-General. This was the only allusion to the Company's establishment at Canton, although a dispatch had been forwarded through the supracargoes to the Court of Peking on the breaking out of the war. The conduct of the Chinese officers towards the Indian Government, in a somewhat protracted communication, as it did not close in 1818, when presents were interchanged, was uniformly temperate and judicious.—MS. Records; see also Prinsep, i. 213.

² In the interview with the Chinese authorities, the Nepal envoys were asked by the Chun-chun, "What number of soldiers have you, and what is the amount of your revenues? The former, I suppose, do not exceed two lakhs (200,000)." The envoys replied, the number of troops was correct, and the revenues were five lakhs and a half of rupees. "Truly," said the Chinese officer with a sneer, "you are a mighty people!" and he observed that they merited the chastisement they had received; adding, that their statements were manifestly false, as, if the English had wished to invade the Chinese dominions, they could have found a nearer route than that through Nepal.—MS. Rec.

BOOK II. of Saran and Gorakhpur. With two large armies, those of
 CHAP. II. General Wood and General Marley, in the field, but acting
 1815. on the defensive, the Gorkhas ravaged the borders almost
 in sight of them with impunity; and no more efficacious
 arrangement for the protection of the Company's subjects
 could be devised than driving them into the interior, be-
 yond the reach of the enemy, leaving their fields and
 homes to the spoiler. No such injury or insult was suffer-
 ed where the British armies carried on the war within the
 confines of Nepal.

The objections to the advance of a concentrated British
 force, in preference to assailing the Gorkha line at different
 points, have also been adverted to. Testimony to its ju-
 diciousness was borne by the best authority,—the Govern-
 ment of Nepal. The Raja expressed his fears that the
 British would endeavour to obtain a footing in the centre
 of his country, in which case both extremities would be
 thrown into disorder.¹ This was the main object of the
 first campaign; and although its complete execution was
 disappointed by the unfortunate failure before Kalanga,
 yet the extremities of the Gorkha state were disordered:
 the east was kept in a state of alarm by the demonstra-
 tions of the British divisions; in the west the best generals
 and troops of Nepal were hemmed in, and finally overpow-
 ered; and a secure footing was obtained with little diffi-
 culty in the centre by the occupation of Kamaon.
 Although, therefore, the instruments employed by the
 Governor-General were not in all cases of the most perfect
 description, yet it could not be said that his plans failed
 because they were radically defective; as in truth, al-
 though their success was delayed, they did eventually
 succeed,—and succeeded, too, in a single campaign: for
 when the renewal of hostilities was provoked by the vacil-
 lation of the cabinet of Khatmandu, the whole of the
 Gorkha conquests and the disputed territories were in the
 hands of the British, and little accession to their conquests
 was claimed or sought for when peace was at last estab-
 lished.

Whatever doubts might have been entertained by the
 authorities in England of the necessity of the war, or the
 wisdom with which it was conducted, they were finally

¹ Nep. Papers, 533.

BOOK II. may freely spread, the descendants of a northern race may
 CHAR. II. be able to aggregate and multiply; and if British colonies
 1815. be ever formed in the East, with a chance of preserving
 the moral and physical energies of the parent country, it
 is to the vales and mountains of the Indian Alps that we
 must look for their existence,—it will be to the Gorkha
 war that they will trace their origin.

CHAPTER III.

*Transactions in Ceylon.—Embassy to the King of Kandy.
 — Aggressions by his People.—Declaration of War.—
 March of Troops and Capture of the Capital.—Mutu-
 zami made King.—Force withdrawn.—Major Davie left
 at Kandy.—Attacked by the Cingalese.—Kandy evacu-
 ated.—Europeans murdered.—Hostilities continued.—
 Suspended.—Tyranny and Cruelty of the King.—Fear
 and Hatred of his People.—British Subjects seized.—
 War resumed.—The Capital again taken.—The King
 captured, deposed, and sent Prisoner to Madras.—Cey-
 lon subject to British Authority.—Universal Discontent
 and Rebellion.—A Pretender to the Throne.—Great Loss
 on both Sides.—Rebels disheartened.—Leaders arrested
 and the Pretender captured.—The Insurrection sup-
 pressed.—Change of System.—Affairs of Cutch.—Dis-
 puted Succession.—General Anarchy.—Depredations on
 the Gackwar's Territories.—Disturbances in Kattivar.—
 Suppressed.—Troops ordered into Cutch.—Anjar sur-
 rendered.—Agreement with the Rao.—Operations against
 the Pirate States.—Intrigues at Baroda.—Occurrences at
 Hyderabad.—Disorderly Conduct of the Nizam's Sons.—
 Put under Restraint.—Disturbances in the City.—Citi-
 cal Position.—The Princes sent to Golconda.—Discus-
 sions with the Nawab of Oude.—Views of the Governor-
 General.—Death of Sâdat Ali.—Succeeded by Ghazi-ud-
 din.—Visit to the Governor-General at Cawnpore.—Loan
 to the Company.—Complaints of the Resident.—Retracts.
 —Submits final Requisitions.—Principles of future
 Intercourse.—The Nawab an Independent Prince in his
 own Dominions.—Second Loan.—Resident's Vindication
 of himself.—His Removal.—Observations.—Internal Dis-*

BOOK II. through credible records, for above two thousand years.¹
 CHAP. III. Deprived of a valuable portion of their ancestral domains
 1815. by races which they despised as barbarians while they
 hated them as conquerors, the kings of Kandy had been
 almost always at variance with their European neighbours,
 and had been principally protected against their military
 superiority by the deadly atmosphere of the forests which
 interposed an impenetrable rampart between the interior
 of the island and the coast. The last but one of these
 princes co-operated with the English in their attack upon
 the maritime provinces held by the Dutch, in expectation
 of advantages which were never realised. He died shortly
 after the establishment of the British power. Leaving no
 children, he was succeeded by the son of a sister of one
 of his queens, who was elected to the throne by the head
 minister, or Adigar, with the acquiescence of the other
 chief officers of the state, the priests of Buddha, and the
 people.²

Shortly after the accession of the new Sovereign in the
 beginning of 1800, the Governor of Ceylon deputed the
 commanding officer of the troops on the island, General
 Macdowal, on an embassy to the court of Kandy. The
 avowed purpose of the mission was the establishment of
 a friendly intercourse with the King; but there were
 objects, also, of a political nature, the precise purport of
 which does not appear, but which seem to have been based
 upon an imitation of the policy of the Indian Govern-
 ment, and to have had in view the formation of a subsidiary
 alliance in Ceylon. In order to fulfil this project, advantage
 was to be taken of the intrigues which agitated the Kan-
 dian Court. The Minister who had raised the Sovereign
 to his present rank, is said thus early to have plotted his
 deposal, and the usurpation of his crown. For the accom-
 plishment of his treacherous designs, he sought the
 assistance of the British Government, and although his
 overtures were at first rejected, he was admitted to a
 conference with the Governor's Secretary, and the mission

¹ See Turnour's Translation of the Mahawanso,—a Buddhist Chronicle of Ceylon, and various tracts by the same eminent Pali scholar in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Ceylon Almanack.

² Dary, 310; also Turnour's Epitome of the History of Ceylon. The new King, Sri Wikrama Rajasingh, ascended the throne in 1798. Adigar is a provincial corruption of the Sanscrit word Adhikāra, a superintendent.

to Kandy was the result. To elude the arts of the Adigar and place the King, with his own consent, in security, are declared to have been the chief objects proposed: but the security intended was to be provided for by the removal of the King to Colombo; and while his person was safe in British keeping, the real power was to be exercised by the Governor of Ceylon, through the agency of the faithless Adigar.¹ That these designs could not be accomplished without a display of force, was manifested by the equipment of the mission, the strength and quality of which denoted hostile, rather than friendly intentions.² Whatever might have been the real objects of the plot, it was frustrated by the timidity and suspicion apparently of both the Minister and the King. Although met on the frontier by the Minister, the troops were made to advance by a circumscribed and difficult route: every step of their progress was watched with extreme jealousy; no communication with the country was permitted; and finally the greater part were obliged to halt, and General Macdowall proceeded to Kandy with a much less numerous, but a more appropriate, retinue. He was received with civility, but without cordiality; his audiences were few and formal; and he returned to Colombo without having made any progress in the purposes of his mission, secret or avowed. On the contrary, the proceedings of the British Government seem to have excited the suspicion and ill-will of both the King and the Adigar, and to have

¹ According to Cordiner, the chief Adigar, to whom the King owed his elevation, was plotting against his power and his life, and had endeavoured to persuade the English Government to assist in deposing him. Apparently, the only difficulty was that of finding a pretext, as the acting Secretary to the Government declared to the Adigar, that "the Governor would never consent to depose a prince who had not made any aggression on him. The Adigar then asked what would be considered an aggression, and whether an invasion of the British territories by the Kandians would not come under that description." Inferring that the King's life was in danger, it was determined to elude the arts of the Adigar by a more perfect knowledge of the Court, and to send General Macdowall with a sufficient force to maintain his Majesty's independence. It was at the same time proposed, that if the King should approve of it, he should transport his person and his Court, for greater safety, into the British territories, there to enjoy his royal rights, and depute to Pullma Talawé (his treacherous minister) the exercise of his power in Kandy; also that a British subsidiary force should be maintained there, and a sufficient indemnification for its expense given by the Kandian Government either in land or produce.—Cordiner's Ceylon, ii. 162. Notable expedients for maintaining the King's royal rights and independence!

² The ambassador's suit consisted of five companies of the 19th regiment, as many Sipahis, and as many of Malays, with four field-pieces, two howitzers, artillery and pioneers.—Percival, Account of Ceylon, 376.

II. united them against a common enemy; while an excuse for an appeal to arms seems to have been solicitously sought for by the British. At length some Cingalese traders from the British territories, having been despoiled of a parcel of Betel nuts which they had purchased, complained to the Governor. Their case was advocated by him with the King; its truth was admitted, and redress was promised but never granted. In the mean time reports reached Colombo that the people of the villages on the frontier were in training, and practising archery, and that active preparations, of a menacing tenor, but rather of a defensive than an offensive character, were in progress. Upon these occurrences, Mr. North determined to make war upon the King, unless he subscribed to a *tr  t  * promising compensation for the expenses of military equipments, and the plunder of the Betel nuts; to permit the formation of a military road from Colombo to Trincomalee, and suffer Cinnamon peelers and wood cutters to follow their calling in the Kandyan districts. It was intimated at the same time, that the aggressions which had been perpetrated, had left the Governor at perfect liberty to recognise and support the claims which any other Prince of the family of the Sun might form to the diadem worn by his Kandyan Majesty.¹ The intimation was not likely to conciliate his accession to a friendly convention, and was replied to by predatory incursions into the British frontier, and the plunder and murder of its subjects. To repress and avenge these injuries, a force under General Macdowall was despatched from Colombo, and another under Colonel Barbut from Trincomalee. The two divisions encountering no serious opposition on their march, met on the Mahavali-ganga, three miles from Kandy, and on the 21st of February entered the capital. The town, which was completely deserted, had been set on fire by the inhabitants, but the flames were speedily extinguished, and Kandy was in the occupation of the British.

As the reigning monarch had been so little sensible of the benefits to be derived from the British alliance, a more tractable sovereign was brought forward in the person of

¹ Proclamation by the Governor of Ceylon, Jan. 29th, 1803, also letter to the King.—Papers printed for Parliament, 6th April, 1804.

Mutu-sami, a brother of the late Queen, and a competitor for the throne, who had been obliged to seek refuge in the colony. A treaty was concluded with him, by which he ceded certain districts and immunities, and in requital was acknowledged as monarch of Kandy, and promised, as long as he might require it, the aid of an auxiliary force. Mutu-sami was conducted to the capital, where he arrived on the 4th of March. He brought no accession of strength, as the people were either afraid or disinclined to support his cause; and hence perhaps its sudden abandonment by the Governor, who presently afterwards engaged to invest the Adigar with regal authority, on condition of his delivering up his master, assigning a pension to Mutu-sami, and making the same cessions which that unfortunate Prince had consented to grant.¹

BOOK II.
CHAP. III.
1815.

After a short stay at Kandy, during which several skirmishes took place with the Cingalese, invariably to their disadvantage, but without any decisive results, the prevalence of jungle-fever, generated by the pestilential vapours of the surrounding forests, to which many of the men and officers fell victims, compelled the retirement of the greater part of the survivors; and, finally, the protection of Kandy, and of Mutu-sami, was consigned to Major Davie, with a body of 500 Malays and 200 Europeans of the 19th regiment,—the latter almost incapacitated for duty by sickness, and the former speedily thinned by frequent desertions. In this state, they were attacked on the 24th of June by the Cingalese in immense numbers, headed by the King and the Adigar, and encouraged by their knowledge of the enfeebled state of the garrison: a severe conflict ensued, which lasted for seven hours, when Major Davie was under the necessity of proposing a suspension of hostilities. The proposal was acceded to, and a capitulation agreed upon, by which the garrison, accompanied by Mutu-sami, were to be permitted to retire with their arms, on giving up Kandy and all military

¹ Parliamentary Debate, 14th March, 1804. The engagement by Cordiner, although he observes that at this time the effrontery to carry on a deceitful correspondence, under ship, with the Commander of the British forces, and no which might dupe or cajole our Government. The Adigar are specified upon the authority of Major Ford Ceylon, i. 25. not men-
law had

BOOK II. stores. It was promised that the sick, who were incapable
 CHAP. III. of being removed, should be taken care of until they
 1815. could be sent to a British settlement. Upon these stipulations Major Davie evacuated Kandy, and marched to the banks of the Mahavali-ganga, which, being swollen by the rains, was no longer fordable: no boats were at hand, and the enemy showed himself in force in different quarters. On the following day, a mission came from the King, demanding that Mutu-sami should be given up, when boats would be furnished to the English. After some hesitation, the demand was complied with. The unhappy Prince, with several of his kinsmen, were immediately put to death. That his abandonment, and the disgrace which it entailed upon the British faith, might have been avoided by a greater display of resolution than was exhibited, is not impossible; but a determination to preserve the Prince at all hazards, even if it had been entertained by the officers, was little likely to have been acquiesced in by the men, consisting almost wholly of Malays, who saw in his surrender their only hope of safety. The hope was fallacious, as might have been expected from the treachery of the enemy. The King commanded the destruction of the whole party. The Adigar is said to have manifested some reluctance to violate the capitulation; but at last consented to become the instrument of his master's revenge. He prevailed upon Major Davie and his officers to accompany him out of sight of the men, who were then told that their officers had crossed the river, and that, upon laying down their arms, they would be also ferried across to join them. Conducted in small parties to the edge of the river, at a spot where they could not be seen by their comrades, they were successively stabbed, or butchered in various ways, and their bodies were thrown into a contiguous hollow. At the same time the whole of the sick, a hundred and fifty, of whom a hundred and thirty-two were British soldiers, were barbarously put to death, the dead and the dying having been thrown promiscuously into a pit prepared for the purpose.¹ Most of the officers were also murdered, or died shortly afterwards. Major Davie survived till about 1810, when he died at Kandy, latterly unmolested and almost unnoticed.²

¹ Davy's Ceylon.² Forbes, i. 34. Heber's Travels, ii. 256.

The recovery of his capital and the destruction of the garrison, inspired the Kandyan Monarch with the ambition of expelling the Europeans from the island ; and during the remainder of 1803 and the ensuing year, repeated efforts were made to penetrate into the colony. At first, during the exhausted state of the troops, some advantages were obtained by the enemy ; and on one occasion they penetrated to within fifteen miles of Colombo. Their attempts were, however, repulsed. Reinforcements were sent to the island,¹ and the British became strong enough to retaliate. Several spirited incursions were made into the Kandyan territories, which served to check and intimidate the enterprises of the enemy. In 1805, the first Adigar acquired additional authority by the indisposition of the King ; and a cessation of hostilities ensued, which was continued by mutual acquiescence, without any express armistice, for several years.²

BOOK II.
CHAP. III.
1815.

Whatever may have been the designs of the Adigar, Pilame Talawe, in his negotiations with the English, he remained apparently faithful to his Sovereign, until the King's tyranny and cruelty taught him fears for his own life. He then engaged in open rebellion — was unsuccessful — was taken and beheaded. He was succeeded in his office by Ahailapalla, who in his turn incurred and resented the suspicion and tyranny of the King. He instigated a rebellion in the district of Jaffragam, over which he presided : but his adherents fell from him upon the approach of a rival Adigar with the royal forces, and he was obliged to fly. He found refuge in Colombo : but many of his followers were taken and impaled. The King's savage cruelty now surpassed all that can be imagined of barbarian inhumanity. Among a number of persons who were seized and put to death with various aggravations of suffering, the family of the fugitive Minister, which had remained in the tyrant's grasp, were sentenced to execution ; the children, one of them an infant at the breast, were beheaded, the heads were cast into a rice-mortar, and the mother was commanded to

¹ In 1804, two regiments of volunteer Sipahis went from Bengal. Native levies were also made in the Madras districts. A regiment of Caffres was formed, and his Majesty's 66th regiment arrived.

² Cordiner's Ceylon, II. 259.

BOOK II. pound them with the pestle, under the threat of being
 CHAP. III. disgracefully tortured if she hesitated to obey. To avoid
 ——— the disgrace, the wretched mother did lift up the pestle,
 1815. and let it fall upon her children's heads. Her own death
 was an act of mercy. She, her sister-in-law, and some
 other females, were immediately afterwards drowned.
 These atrocities struck even the Kandyan with horror;
 and for two days the whole city was filled with mourning
 and lamentation, and observed a period of public fasting
 and humiliation. The King's ferocity was insatiable:
 executions were incessant, no persons were secure, and
 even the Chief Priest of Buddha, a man of great learning
 and benevolence, fell a victim to the tyrant's thirst for
 blood. A general sentiment of fear and detestation per-
 vaded both chiefs and people, and the whole country was
 ripe for revolt.

The urgent representations of Ahailapalla, and a know-
 ledge of the state of public feeling in the Kandyan pro-
 vinces, induced the Governor, Sir Robert Brownrigg, to
 prepare for a war, which was certain to occur, in conse-
 quence of the disorders on the frontier, and the insane
 fury of the King. Occasion soon arose: some merchants,
 subjects of the British Government, trading to Kandy,
 were seized by the King's orders as spies, and so cruelly
 mutilated that most of them died; and about the same
 time a party of Kandyans ravaged the villages on the
 British boundary. The Governor immediately declared
 war against the King, and sent a body of troops into his
 country.¹ They were joined by the principal chiefs and
 the people, and advanced, without meeting an enemy, to
 the capital. They arrived there on the 14th of February.
 On the 18th, the King, who had attempted to fly, was
 taken and brought in by a party of Ahailapalla's followers.²
 On the 2nd of March he was formally deposed,³ and the
 allegiance of the Kandyans was transferred to the British
 Crown. Vikrama Raja Singha was sent a captive to Vel-
 lore, where he died in January, 1832.

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¹ Proclamation, 10th Jan., 1815. As. Journal, Feb., 1816. Account of the War in Kandy. Parl. Papers, 17th May, 1819.

² Narrative of Events in Ceylon.

³ By a convention made between the Governor of Ceylon on the part of the King of Great Britain, and the Adigars, Dessaves, and other principal chiefs of the Kandyan provinces, on behalf of the inhabitants, in the presence of the head men and of the people, 2nd March, 1815.—Dary's Ceylon, Appendix, i. Parl. Papers, 17th May, 1819, No. 3.

The change of authority, and the substitution of a new and foreign dominion for that of the ancient native rulers, however acceptable under the influence of popular terror and disgust, began to lose their recommendations as soon as apprehension was allayed, and the chiefs and people were able calmly to consider the character of the revolution to which they had contributed. The chiefs found that their power was diminished and their dignity impaired; the priests felt indignant at the want of reverence shown to them and to their religion: and the people, sympathizing with both, had also grievances of their own to complain of, in the contempt displayed for their customs and institutions, and the disregard manifested for their prejudices and feelings by the English functionaries and their subordinates. A general rebellion was the consequence. It broke out at the end of 1817, and was headed by Kapitiapalla, the brother-in-law of Ahailapalla, who, notwithstanding the protection he had received from the English, was suspected of having secretly fomented the insurrection, and was consequently arrested.

In the beginning of 1818, most of the Kandyan provinces were in arms against the British; and a pretender to the throne was brought forward in the person of an inferior Buddhist priest, who was falsely represented to be a member of the royal family. Troops were sent against the insurgents, but for some time with little success; as although they rarely met with open resistance, they were perpetually harassed by the natives, waylaid and cut off in detail; and this system of warfare, combined with the difficulty of the country, and the unhealthiness of the climate, inflicted so much loss and discouragement, that, after some months of unavailing exertion, it became a question whether the contest should not be abandoned.¹

Reinforcements were earnestly applied for from the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras; and although the state of affairs on the continent of India rendered compliance with the requisition inconvenient, yet the urgency of the case compelled the Indian Governments to make an effort for the purpose; and one regiment of Europeans and several battalions of native troops were despatched

¹ Mr. D'Arcy estimates the loss of the British at one thousand men. That of the natives at fully ten times that number.—p. 131.

BOOK II. to Ceylon. Other circumstances contributed to encourage
 CHAP. III. the Government to persevere: the people of the country
 1818. had suffered even more severely than the British; their villages were burnt, their fruit trees cut down, their crops laid waste, and they were driven to the thickets and mountains, among the wild tribes in the interior of the island. Exposure, hunger, and disease, were equally fatal as the sword, which descended heavily upon them in retaliation of the cruelty they showed to stragglers who fell into their hands. Equally disheartened by the aspect of affairs, the chiefs quarrelled among themselves. The pretender was disavowed and exposed, and even put in the stocks by one of his former adherents. Three of the leaders of the insurrection were taken,—two of them, Kapitipalla and Madugalle, were tried and beheaded; the third, the son of Pilama Tulawe, was banished to the Mauritius, as were Ahailapalla and several other chiefs of inferior note. With their apprehension, the disturbances ceased; for although the pretender escaped and remained at large until 1829, his cause found no supporters.¹ When ultimately seized, he was tried and condemned to death, but received a pardon from the Crown. Upon the restoration of tranquillity, various alterations were made in the mode of managing the Kandyan provinces calculated to conciliate the good will of their inhabitants. The power of the Adigars and Desawes was circumscribed by associating with them European civilians in the administration of justice, and the collection of the revenue. The appointment of head men of the districts was taken from the chiefs, and reserved to the Government. All taxes were merged into a tax of one-tenth of the produce of the rice-fields, payable in kind.² Several minor provisions were enacted of a similar purport. The immediate effect of these arrangements was beneficial; and the people gradually came to be reconciled to the altered circumstances of their political condition.

Returning to the continent of India, we find that hos-

¹ Another event which contributed to the pacification of the island was the recovery of the *dalada*, or tooth of Buddha, a sacred relic carefully preserved in the principal temple at Kandy, and occasionally exhibited to the devout. According to the superstitious belief of the people, the possession of this tooth ensures sovereignty.—See an account of its exhibition in Forbes, i. 290.

² Proclamation by Sir Robert Brownrigg, 21st Nov., 1818.—Davy's Ceylon, App. No. II.

ilities were carried on almost simultaneously with the Nepal war in a different and distant quarter, in consequence of which a political connexion was first established with the state of Cutch. The country had long been the scene of disorder. The authority of its nominal ruler, or Rao Raidhan, had been superseded by that of two adventurers, — the one, Hans-raj, a Hindu merchant, the other, Fattch Mohammed, an officer of the Arab mercenaries in the service of the Rao. These two disputed the post of Minister, and divided between them the power of the Prince. Application had been frequently made by each of the competitors for the interference of the British Government; but as no advantage appeared likely to result from such interposition, it was declined. The quarrel was terminated by the death of Hans-raj, the Hindu, in 1809: and his rival, Fattch Mohammed, continued in possession of the office of Minister until 1813, when his death, and that of the Rao, his master, left affairs even in a more troubled condition than had prevailed during their lives.

BOOK II.
CHAP. III.
1811.

The Rao, under the influence of Fattch Mohammed, had apostatized to the Mohammedan religion; and left a son, Manuba or Bharmalji, by a wife of the same faith. The Jhareja Rajputs, of whom the Rao was the head, and the other military tribes of Cutch, disputed Manuba's succession, holding him to be illegitimate and an outcast; and raised to the throne his cousin Lakhpati, or Ladhupa, the nephew of the late Rao.

Each of the competitors was supported by a party sufficiently powerful to neutralize the efforts of his opponents, and to prevent the establishment of any recognized authority. The slender control to which the chiefs had ever submitted was annulled, and a general state of anarchy prevailed in the province. No attempt was made to repress the disorder, until it became necessary to prevent its effects from extending to the territories, of which the defence was a duty imposed on the British Government by the terms of its alliance with the Gaekwar. The peninsula of Kattiwar is separated from Guzerat by the Ran, an extensive tract of low saline land, inundated partially by the sea, but at times capable of being traversed. It was crossed at all times by marauding bands from Wagar, the eastern portion of Cutch, the people of which, when the

BOOK II. Ran was dry, came over to Kattiwar in strong bodies of
 CHAP. III. both horse and foot, and burnt the villages, carried off the
 cattle, and murdered the inhabitants. When the sea was

1815.

in, they crossed it in boats, and committed similar depredations. The points of access were too numerous to be all sufficiently guarded; and the movements of the plunderers were too sudden and rapid to be effectively counteracted by the two troops stationed on the frontier. Remonstrances and threats were alike unavailing in preventing the repetition of these inroads, and the people exposed to them contemplated abandoning the country; when it was resolved to give them efficient protection by sending a body of troops against Bhooj, the capital of Cutch, where Bharmal-ji had been established in some degree of power by the acquiescence of the contumacious Jharejas, and had been reconciled with his cousin, who was a mere youth, and who resided also at the capital. Rao Bharmal-ji, however, manifested no inclination to endeavour to repress the incursions of the Wagar handitti, but on the contrary, contracted an alliance with their chiefs, and ordered the British native Agent to retire from Bhooj.

Under the settlement made by Major Walker in Kattiwar, the turbulent Rajputs of that province continued for some years peaceable and submissive; but towards the year 1814, the intrigues of the Peshwa generated a spirit of insubordination, which hurried some of the subordinate chiefs into acts of violence and rebellion. The troops of the Gackwar, sent against them, were defeated, and Colonel East, with part of the subsidiary force marched against the rebels.¹ They were afraid to encounter the British. The chief of Juria, one of the most considerable, gave up his fort, and the rest following his example, order was quickly restored.² So easy a suppression of the disturbances disappointed the policy of the Court of Cutch, which had despatched a body of Arabs to the aid of the Khwas of Juria; and to punish this act of hostility, as well as effectually to put a stop to the depredations of the plunderers from Wagar, Colonel East was directed to

¹ The force was his Majesty's 17th light dragoons and 63th foot. The (Bombay) European regiment, and the 6th, 7th, and 8th N. I., with a train of artillery, with above three thousand of the Gackwar troops.

² See Government Gazette, Jan., 1816.

advance into Cutch; and accordingly crossed the Ran, in December, 1815. BOOK II.
CHAP. III.

1816.

The first operations of the British were directed against Anjar, of which Hasan Meya, one of the sons of the late minister Fattch Mohammed, had possessed himself. On the approach of the force, this chief professed to entertain friendly sentiments; but it was discovered that he had directed the wells and tanks of the neighbourhood to be poisoned, and in punishment of his treachery batteries were opened against the fort. When a practicable breach was effected, Hasan Meya gave up Anjar and the port of Juner on the Gulph of Cutch, one of its dependencies, which were occupied by a detachment of British troops. The force then proceeded towards Bhooj, but was met by a pacific deputation from the Rao, and an agreement was concluded, guaranteed by five chiefs, by which the Rao promised to indemnify the parties who had rights in Kattivar for the losses suffered from the Wagar banditti, to reimburse the British Government the expenses of the expedition, to prevent the commission of acts of piracy and plunder, and to receive an agent of the Bombay government at Bhooj. The fort and district of Anjar were ceded in perpetuity, and an annual payment of two lakhs of cowries (about 70,000 rupees) was pledged to the British Government. On their part, they undertook to assist the Rao in re-establishing his power over those places which had been alienated from him by the insubordination or treachery of his officers, and to chastise the robbers of Wagar and demolish their strongholds. A definitive treaty to this effect was executed on the 16th of January, 1816.¹ The latter stipulations were soon realised. The officers of the Rao hastened to relinquish their usurpations, and the plundering tribes of Wagar, retired to the north to the great sandy desert of Parkur before a British detachment. To prevent their return, the troops of the Rao were posted in commanding situations, and the marauders were for some time deterred from a repetition of their destructive inroads.

Having thus restored tranquillity in Cutch, and brought the principality within the pale of the system of sub-

¹ Treaties with Native powers, published by order of the House of Commons, 27th May, 1818, p. 32.

BOOK II.

CHAP. III.

1816.

sidary alliances, Colonel East was directed to take the only measure which experience had shown to be effective for the final suppression of piracy on the southern coast of the Gulph of Cutch, by dispossessing the chiefs of the district of Okamandel of their forts and towns, and placing them under British authority. Little opposition was offered. The fort of Dingi was taken by storm; batteries were opened against the sacred city of Dwaraka, but the chief surrendered himself before the assault was given, and a Sipahi garrison took the place of his Sindbian mercenaries. The Raja of Bate also gave himself up on condition of an adequate provision being made for himself and family, and protection being assured to private property and the religious establishments on the island. At Wasaye a skirmish occurred, in which Nur-ud-din, a notorious pirate and ringleader, was slain,—an event which materially accelerated the submission of the district. Colonel East then proceeded in the beginning of March, to Junargerh, where order was in like manner restored. The objects of the armament were thus accomplished, and the force returned to cantonments early in May. The district of Okamandal was in the following year transferred to the Gaekwar.

The connexion with the Court of Baroda had undergone no material alteration. The debts of the Gaekwar, for which the British Government had become the guarantee, although considerably reduced, had not yet been liquidated, and the incapacity of the Prince still continuing undiminished, the administration of affairs by Fatteh Sing, under the general superintendence and control of the Resident, remained unaltered, with the express sanction of the Court of Directors.¹ The administration had been strengthened by the addition of Gangadhar Sastri, Colonel Walker's able native assistant, as the associate of Fatteh Sing.

Active intrigues were kept on foot by a powerful party in the Court, for the restoration of the discarded minister Sitaram Raoji to power, and every proposal to send him to

¹ Letter to Bengal, 19th March, 1815. "We have no hesitation in declaring that at least the time of our ceasing to interfere in the internal affairs of the Baroda State should be extended to the period when the debt should be liquidated."

a distance was successfully resisted, although his removal to Bombay was at length consented to. In the mean time, he had opened secret communications with the Peshwa, in which the Raja himself was implicated, the consequences of which were fatal to the head of the Mahratta state, as will be hereafter described.

BOOK II.
CHAP. III.
1816.

Passing to the Mohammedan allies of the Company, with whom the existing relations were unaffected by the subsequent hostilities, we find that the friendly intercourse with the Court of Hyderabad was threatened with some interruption, towards the close of 1815. The Nizam, and the minister of his nomination, Munir-ul-Mulk, had alike withdrawn from all concern in public affairs, and devoting their whole time to low and sensual gratifications, committed, with sullen indifference, the charge of the state to the minister's nominal deputy, Chandu Lal, who, depending for his power entirely upon British support, was assiduous in cultivating the good will of the Resident. Excluded from offices of credit and activity, the sons of the Nizam, abandoned to their own discretion, followed the example of the Court, and became notorious only by their excesses. The two youngest, Samsam-ud-dowla and Mubarik-ud-dowla, distinguished themselves in this outrageous career; and, surrounded by a band of profligate retainers prompt to execute whatever their masters enjoined, these young men filled the city with tumult and alarm, and excited the aversion and terror of the peaceable citizens by their contempt for all authority and law.¹ Repeated representations of the evil consequences of their conduct were made by the Resident, and the Nizam was, after some time, prevailed upon to direct that they should be placed under restraint, and that guards should be stationed at their dwellings. Captain Hare, with a party of the Nizam's regular infantry, was commanded to execute the order; but, on his approach to the palace, he was

¹ Among other lawless acts, they established a tribunal of their own, in which judgment was avowedly given in favour of those who most liberally bribed the judges, notwithstanding the groundlessness of their claims. The rightful owners of houses and gardens were dispossessed of their property in behalf of any one who chose to assert a claim to them, and who purchased the award of the Prince and the services of his myrmidons. The Nizam himself and the members of his family were not safe from their insolence, and the immunities of the Resident were invaded by the seizure and corporal castigation of one of his servants.

BOOK II. received with a heavy fire of matchlocks from the tops of
 CHAP. III. the houses, by which several of his men and Lieutenant
 1816. Darby, an officer of the Resident's escort, were killed. The
 party made their way, nevertheless, to the palace, and
 blew open the gates, but the resistance they encountered
 from the Prince's adherents was too formidable to be over-
 come, and Captain Hare deemed it prudent to retreat.
 He was reinforced by 100 European and 400 native troops,
 who took up their station for the night at the residence of
 the minister. Much alarm was felt by the Nizam and his
 principal courtiers at the advance of the European detach-
 ments; but this subsided when its weakness was known,
 and some of the principal Omras urged the Nizam to fall
 upon the Residency, and exterminate its defenders. A
 general ferment pervaded the city, and a popular senti-
 ment was expressed that Mubarik-ud-dowla was alone a
 worthy descendant of Nizam-ul-Mulk, and that if he would
 hold out he should not want support. The moment was
 critical. The subsidiary force had been sent into the
 field, and a small division only remained in cantonments.
 In addition to the numerous population of Hyderabad,
 there remained in the neighbourhood ten thousand Patan
 soldiers, whom the minister was engaged in disbanding,
 and who would gladly have joined in any tumult. The
 firmness of the Nizam, who, on this occasion showed, that
 when roused to action he did not want ability, and the
 prudence of the Resident prevented a collision. The
 Europeans were withdrawn from the city—no movement
 of the people or of the chiefs was sanctioned or encour-
 aged, and measures were promptly taken to obtain rein-
 forcements. General Doveton was summoned from Akole,
 and troops were also required from Bellari. Although
 Chandu-Lul was afraid to press the confinement of the
 Princes, the measure was insisted on, and, with some
 reluctance, was acceded to by the Nizam. The interval
 that elapsed before the troops could arrive, allowed the
 Princes an opportunity of discovering the dangerous pre-
 dicament in which they stood, and they no longer opposed
 the Nizam's pleasure. They were sent off to Golconda,
 where were the remains of a palace of the Mohammedan
 kings of the country, and an extensive fort. Tranquillity
 was restored before the arrival of the additional troops,

and their march was countermanded—an extensive rising of the Mohammedans of Hyderabad, headed by the princes, or by the Nizam, would at this season have seriously embarrassed the Government of India.

BOOK II.

CHAP. III.

1814.

The discussions which took place with the Nawab of Oude during the latter years of Lord Minto's administration have been described. Approving entirely of the manner in which the Resident had urged the reforms which the Government of Bengal pressed upon the Nawab's adoption, one of that nobleman's last acts was, as we have seen, the expression, in strong terms, of his determination to uphold the measures and enforce the recommendations of the Governor-General's representative at the Court of Lucknow. Nothing seemed to be left to the Nawab but to submit, when the arrival of Lord Moira suggested the hope that a less unrelenting policy might be pursued. He was not disappointed. The habits of his past life had taught the Governor-General to sympathise with royalty in distress: and although he concurred in the principle of reform, and in the expedience of the particular arrangement which had been devised for the administration of Oude, he conceived that the Nawab had been treated with less deference than was due to his rank, or was consistent with the nature of the connection which united him with the East India Company. He determined, therefore, to adopt a tone of conciliation,¹ and enjoined the Resident to refrain from agitating questions of minor consideration, which, while they led to no important result, could not fail to excite irritation and dissatisfaction in the mind of the Nawab. Finally, perceiving that the Nawab's consent and co-operation in the proposed measures of reform were not to be hoped for; and believing that to insist upon their being carried into effect without his cordial concurrence, would amount to a dissolution of the existing relations between the two states, the Governor-General determined to relinquish the specific plan proposed by Lord Minto, and confine the object of the Government to

¹ Major Baillie ascribed the change of purpose which took place in the councils of the Government, to private influence and intrigues at Calcutta; a negotiation was carried on there, he says, for his removal, for effecting which, the Vizir offered twenty-five lakhs of rupees. An English gentleman was noticed as an agent in the negotiation without mention of his name.—Letter from the Resident, 3rd Nov., 1815. Oude Papers, printed for the use of the Proprietors of India Stock, June, 1824, p. 563.

BOOK II. obtaining from the Nawab such measures of reform as he
 CHAP. III. should himself propose, although of more limited scope
 1814. and efficacy. Compliance with such suggestions, coming from the Prince himself, would, his Lordship expected, have a beneficial effect, and would prepare the way for more advantageous innovations. A letter to this purport was addressed to the Nawab Vizir; and for the remainder of his life, which was not long protracted, the question was at rest. Sadat Ali died on the 11th of July, 1814. He was succeeded by his eldest son, who assumed the designation of Ghazi-ud-din Hyder.¹

The gratitude which was felt by the new Sovereign towards Major Baillie, for the prompt and judicious arrangements by which upon the demise of Sadat Ali he had guarded against all risk of opposition² to the succession, rendered the Nawab at first amenable to the advice of the Resident. His Ministers were chosen upon the recommendation of that officer, and as they looked to him for support, they were ready to become the instruments of accomplishing his wishes. No time was lost in instituting the revenue reforms which he had so strenuously advocated. The Principality of Oude was portioned out into Zillas and Mahals, and collectors on the part of the Government were deputed to the latter, subject to the superior authority of the Zilla-dar Nazim, or Lieutenant-Governor of the larger district. Arrangements for the administration of justice were also proposed, and an attempt was likewise made to introduce an armed police; but the opposition of the villagers to this part of the project was so universal and vehement, that its prosecution was suspended. The new system of collection was scarcely less unpopular, and was far from realising the benefits which were expected to result from it. It was, in fact, an injudicious repetition of the mistake committed in the

¹ The success with which Sadat Ali prosecuted his favourite project of amassing wealth, was proved by the accumulated treasure found in his coffers; his hoards amounted to thirteen millions sterling, the accumulation of eleven years.—*Comm. Committee, 1832. Political Evidence of Col. Baillie.*

² Some had been expected from Shams-ud-dowla, the second and favourite son of Sadat Ali, who, during his father's life-time, had been appointed the Deputy (Nalb) and Representative (Kaim Mokam) of the Nawab, and to whom Sadat Ali had apparently desired to bequeath his power. No time was given for a party to be formed in his favour. To prevent subsequent dissension he was persuaded to retire to Benares upon a pension from Lucknow, guaranteed by the British Government.—*Oude Papers, 869.*

Company's territories, that of prematurely forcing upon the people institutions foreign to their habits, strange to their notions, and repulsive to their feelings. Troops were still required, therefore, to compel payment of the revenues, and their collection was as uncertain and irregular as before; while to the imperfect apprehension of the Nawab the payment of the collectors by a per-centage rate upon the amount collected, appeared to be an unnecessary and unreasonable deduction from his own receipts. Ghazi-ud-din, therefore, soon withdrew his confidence, both from the Resident and from his own Ministers, looking upon them as the creatures and spies of the former. There were not wanting in his court intriguing individuals to aggravate the Nawab's dissatisfaction, and, he became no less anxious than his father had been to accomplish Major Baillie's removal from his councils.

BOOK II.

CHAP. III.

1814.

The Earl of Moira, in order to be near the scene of action in the Nepal war, had repaired to the Upper Provinces, and arrived at Cawnpore in October, 1814. He was immediately visited by the young Nawab, and returned with him shortly afterwards to Lucknow. On this occasion, the Nawab offered to the Company, as his free gift, a crore of rupees, about a million sterling.¹ Acceptance of the gift was declined; but the money was received as a loan, which the charges of the approaching campaign rendered highly opportune. The amount was accordingly registered as an item of the public debt, bearing interest at 6 per cent.,—the current rate; the interest being applied to the acquittance of sundry pensions which were payable by the Nawab, under the guarantee of the government of Bengal. The arrangement was advantageous to the pensioners as well as mutually convenient to the contracting parties. On this occasion² the Nawab presented a paper, which, although obscurely worded, manifested some degree of dissatisfaction with his actual condition; expressed a desire that the system of collection should be suspended in favour of a plan to be subsequently

¹ Political Letter from Bengal, Aug. 1815.—Papers, 846. The offer was not, however, an original idea. The Resident says, "I was instructed to open a negotiation with the Vizir for the loan of a crore of rupees to the Honourable Company, to appear as a voluntary offer to Lord Moira."—Papers, 952.

² Minute of the Governor-General, 30th Nov., 1814.—Oude Papers, 920.

BOOK II. prepared; and clearly intimated the wish of the Nawab
 CHAP. III. to be made more independent of the Resident's control,
 although professing a personal attachment to Major
 1-15 Paillie, and a firm reliance upon the reciprocity of his
 regard.¹

Private information having reached the Governor-General that the Nawab had not unreservedly and sincerely communicated his wishes and sentiments with respect to the Resident, having been deterred from so doing by Lord Moira's having recommended to him to place implicit reliance upon Major Paillie's counsels, some pains were taken to induce him to be more explicit. Several conferences ensued, not only with the Governor-General, but with members both of his civil and military staff.² From the former the Nawab continued to withhold his entire confidence; but to some of the latter he imparted with different degrees of explicitness his anxiety for Major Paillie's removal. He also delivered to Mr. Ricketts, the chief secretary, and to the Governor-General two several statements, alike in tenor, in which he preferred a number of complaints against the conduct of the Resident on various occasions, as disrespectful and vexatious, or as encroaching upon the rights and derogatory to the dignity of the Nawab. Both these documents were presented in the course of the 31st of October. On the 1st of November they were retracted. A confidential agent was sent by the Nawab to disavow the averments of the preceding day—declaring that the statements delivered by him did not express his sentiments, and that they had been prepared and put into his hands by European gentlemen attached to his service, who had persuaded him that any representations unfavourable to the Resident would be agreeable to Lord Moira. A similar disavowal was repeated by the Nawab, in a letter to Lord Moira, and in a conference with Mr. Ricketts, Mr. Adam, and Mr. Swinton, in which the principal subjects of complaint, as exhibited in the papers, were deliberately canvassed. They were all disowned, and were referred to the advice of evil coun-

¹ 13th Oct.—Papers, 870.

² Conversation with Captain Gilbert, about 20th Oct., Oude Papers, 922. Conference with Mr. Ricketts, 31st Oct., *ibid.* p. 875. Ditto with Messrs. Ricketts, Adam, and Swinton, 4th Nov. 1801, 987.

BOOK 11.
CHAP. III.
1815.

sellors, who had led him to believe that their tenor would be acceptable to the Governor-General. Inferring, however, from the language and deportment of his Lordship, that this information was erroneous, and actually entertaining no cause of complaint against the Resident, the Nawab hastened to withdraw the accusations which had been put into his mouth, and declared his readiness to punish his prompters by their immediate dismissal.¹ They were accordingly dismissed, although they unequivocally denied having had any concern in preparing the documents, or in having influenced the Nawab to present them to the Governor-General. It cannot be doubted that their assertions were true, although they had been repeatedly the confidants of the Nawab's grievances; had apparently sympathized with him; and had assured him that a candid and open exposition would command the Governor-General's attention.² The motives of the Nawab's sudden change of purpose are among the worthless secrets of an intriguing Court: his first representations may not have been free from sinister influences, but there is no reason to question the reality of his desire to get rid of the Resident, or to doubt that he sacrificed both his friends and his veracity to a sudden and ungrounded dread of having incurred the Governor-General's displeasure by the open avowal of a wish which, contrary to his expectation, appeared to be unacceptable to his Lordship.³ The manner in which he pursued and abandoned his design is characteristic of Asiatic duplicity, as well as of unsteadiness of purpose and irresoluteness of execution.

The charges made by the Nawab were communicated to the Resident, and were shown by him to be, in many

¹ Papers, 885.

² Papers, 905.—The Resident ascribes this attempt to have him removed to a conspiracy set on foot by Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan, who had been removed from the office of Prime Minister to the late Nawab, at the Resident's suggestion, as he was a principal opponent of the plan of reform, being a farmer of the revenue to a considerable extent. His object was to be restored to his appointment, which he knew was impossible while Major Baillie held office.—Papers, p. 955. On the other hand, it appears probable the Nawab's retraction was owing to a panic inspired by the Aga Mir, a personal friend of the Nawab, who, besides his apprehensions of the consequences of his master's complaints, since they had failed to impair the Resident's credit, probably expected by this means to secure the Resident's support in his appointment as the successor of Mehdi Ali. The interested rivalry of these two persons seems to have been the pivot round which the other parts of the plot revolved.

³ See Baillie's account.—Oude Papers, 957.

own household for reception into the Nawab's immediate service. By adherence to these, and similar injunctions, the Governor-General hoped that both the actual Resident and his successors would obtain from the Nawab a willing compliance on every occasion where it might be necessary to interpose advice. With these monitory instructions the inquiry terminated, and cordiality was apparently restored. It was not of long duration.

In the month of March following, as the war expenditure still continued, recourse to the hoards of Sadat Ali again became convenient, and the Resident, acting in obedience to the orders of the Governor-General, extracted from the Nawab a second crore of Rupees. Although Ghazi-ud-din complied with the application, his unwilling consent seems to have confirmed his estrangement from the Resident, and rendered him still more than ever hostile to projects of reform. The Resident, ascribing their imperfect success to underhand opposition, offended by the removal from the Nawab's councils of persons whom he valued, and upon whom he relied, and weakened in spirit as well as wounded in feeling by the distrust manifested in Lord Moira's private inquiries, and public inquiries, could no longer restrain his indignation. A letter, dated the 29th of April, but not transmitted till the 5th of September, was addressed by him to the Governor-General, in which he vindicated his conduct, and blamed the proceedings of the Nawab to factious intrigues, encouraged by the prejudice cherished against him by Lord Moira. The Governor-General thought it incumbent upon him to reply, and exonerate himself from the imputation of unfairness, or prejudice against the Resident: doing justice to the character of that officer for his ability and zeal, but avowing his conviction of his want of discretion in his intercourse with both the late and present Nawabs, exhibited a grasping and domineering disposition, justified the jealousy and resentment felt by both. As it was impossible that the confidence necessary for the intercourse which should subsist between the Governor-General and his representative at the Court of Lucknow should be maintained, the Governor-General, with the concurrence of his council, removed Major Baillie from office, and left the Nawab of Oude to the uncon-

BOOK II. trolled constitution of his own cabinet, and the absolute
 CHAP. III. direction of his own domestic administration.

1815.

Thus terminated a dissension which is deserving of record for the illustration it affords of the incidents likely to trouble the equable current of a connection of the nature of that established with the sovereign of Oude. That Major Baillie should be an object of dislike to Sadat Ali and his successor was inevitable, from the irksome duties he was appointed to discharge, and the zeal with which he engaged in them: it was impossible, whatever they might profess, that these Princes could have felt a sincere regard for an individual who pressed upon them with unchanging pertinacity, reforms which they were secretly resolved never to carry into operation. They might, perhaps, have made a distinction between the individual and the functionary, and felt for Major Baillie the regard which they withheld from the Resident: but it is clear from Major Baillie's own language, as exhibited in his correspondence, that he took little care to soften the harshness of his public acts by the suavity of his private manners. He is ever importunate and dictatorial; not unfrequently disrespectful; and occasionally insulting. This is most manifest in his intercourse with Sadat Ali. The evidence is less ample in regard to Ghazi-ud-din, but the precipitancy with which the projected reforms were set on foot, and the interference exercised with the court patronage, combined with his ordinary deportment to intimidate and offend the Nawab. The want of candour and consistency in the latter, which nullified his own purposes, were in part inseparable from the Asiatic character, but were in part also attributable to his inability to discriminate between the private feelings and public principles of an individual exercising the high office of Governor-General. Undoubtedly Lord Moira was prejudiced against Major Baillie, and had imbibed and strengthened his prejudices from sources scarcely worthy of his exalted station—the private information of unofficial persons. This bias was not, however, derived solely from this cause, and was taken, in part, from the tone of the Resident's correspondence which jarred with his high sentiments of loyal deference to princely rank. Whatever were his prepossessions, however, he founded upon them no public proceedings injurious to the Resident; and, entirely satisfied with

that officer's ability and uprightness, retained him in his post, and recommended to the Nawab to place entire confidence in his judgment and friendship. It was not to be expected, however, that the degree of independence which he had acknowledged in the Nawab, would dispose that Prince to follow his recommendation, or would be palatable to the political representative who, long fortified by the unqualified confidence of the Government, had possessed little less than regal sway throughout the principality of Oude. His retirement was, therefore, unavoidable for the preservation of a good understanding with the Court of Lucknow, and was followed by a perfect cordiality which was cemented by the events of succeeding years.¹

The internal tranquillity of the British dominions suffered at this time partial interruptions, which, although not affecting the permanent preservation of public order, or impairing the credit and authority of the Government, exhibited characteristic illustrations of the difficulty of legislating for a people imperfectly known by those who enacted or administered their laws, and who as imperfectly appreciated the real objects and intentions of their rulers; in other words, of the difficulty of governing a people without admitting them to any participation in the conduct of their own affairs. Disturbances, which for a time assumed a serious aspect, broke out in the Western provinces, and in Cuttack. The former was speedily repressed by a prompt and vigorous exertion of the power of the Government: the latter were of more protracted continuance, and were at last quelled rather by conciliatory than rigorous measures.

It was noticed on a former occasion, that in consequence of the opposition made to the imposition of a tax on houses, the Government of Bengal had adopted a different mode of providing for the cost of the municipal police, and had empowered the chief inhabitants in several of the towns to assess themselves in the amount necessary to defray the support of a sufficient number of watchmen, or choukidars. The plan being found to succeed in the cities in which it was first introduced, was extended in the

¹ The second loan was commuted by treaty with the Nawab for Khyraghur and the country between the Gogra and the North Eastern Boundary of Oude, 1st May, 1816.

BOOK II. beginning of 1814 to other towns in the Lower Provinces,
 CHAP. III. and in the course of the same year to those places in the
 districts of Benares and Bareilly, which were the stations
 1815. of the magistrates, to whom was entrusted the duty of
 effecting the requisite arrangements.¹

The regulation thus enacted by the Government was not at all palatable to the towns to which it was to be applied, but after some little delay, the repugnance of the people was overcome everywhere, except in Bareilly. This city was the residence of a considerable population, many of whom were of Afghan descent, and were notorious for their military propensities and impetuous disposition. Among them, also, were the representatives of families formerly of rank and consideration, which were reduced to comparative insignificance by the change of Government, and the members of which were consequently discontented with the present state of affairs. A similar spirit pervaded the class of Mohammedans throughout the province; and, although no acts of oppression or injustice could be charged against the Government, yet a system that sought to render all alike amenable to public justice was peculiarly distasteful to men who regarded themselves superior to all law, and able to protect their own rights and avenge their own wrongs. The defects of the judicial administration — its expensiveness and delay — the unrelenting, and, in some instances, excessive assessments on the land, and the procrastination of a settlement either for a stated period, or in perpetuity, enhanced the unpopularity which difference of origin and religion affixed to a foreign Government. Neither was the past forgotten; and the defeat of the Rohillas at Bithora, twenty-two years before, which was currently attributed, not to the superior valour or discipline of the victors, but to the treachery of their own leaders, still rankled in the hearts of the people of Rohilkhand. Local causes of popular animosity also prevailed. The Kotwal, or head of the Police, was a Hindu of an overbearing and tyrannical disposition; and the European magistrate, by reserved and uncourteous manners, had given so much offence to the most respectable of the inhabitants, that they avoided as much as possible all private and friendly intercourse with him. He had

¹ Reg. ii., 1814, and xvi., 1814.

BOOK II. magistrate, Mr. Dumbleton, commanded the assessment to
 19. III. be made by the Kotwal, who aggravated the popular indig-
 816. nation by threatening the lower orders with the stocks, and the superior with chains and imprisonment, if they continued refractory. The actual collection of the tax was commenced by the magistrate in person, and by his orders the shop of a recusant trader was forcibly entered, and property to the amount of the sum assessed was distrained for sale. In the execution of his commands, a woman in the shop received a wound from some of the Police Peons, and as soon as the Magistrate had withdrawn, she was placed on a bed, and carried by the people to the Mufti. By his direction she was conveyed to the residence of the Magistrate, who ordered that she should lodge her complaint in due form in the chief criminal court. The people carried her back to the Mufti, who exclaimed, that if such was the Magistrate's justice, no man's life or honour was safe in Bareilly; and that it was high time for him to leave the town. It does not appear that the injury inflicted on the woman was very severe, but the little regard paid to the case exasperated the angry feelings that prevailed.

As the excitement continued to increase, and numerous mobs of both Mohammedans and Hindus, assembled in the streets of Bareilly, and in the vicinity of the Mufti's residence, the Magistrate apprehended a serious breach of the public peace, and deemed it necessary to disperse the multitude. For this purpose he repaired on the 16th of April to the city, attended by a few horsemen and about thirty Sipahis of the provincial battalion. Upon his approach, a rumour spread abroad that he was coming to apprehend the person of the Mufti, and place him in confinement; and the old man, either apprehending, or feigning to apprehend, the disgrace of being dragged to prison, left his home to take sanctuary in a shrine in the suburbs of the city, held in peculiar reverence by the Mohammedans. The mob fell back as the magistrate's party advanced, but when near the Mufti's residence they turned, and in order to cover his flight, barred further access. The horsemen who were sent to clear the passage were resolutely resisted by the people, who were armed with swords and pikes, and two of the troopers were

killed and several wounded. The Sipahis then fired, but, although many fell, the rioters stood their ground until the escape of Mohammed Aiwaz was secured: they then dispersed. The Mufti received a slight wound in the affray, but he effected his retreat to the shrine of Shah-dara, and there his associates hoisting the green flag of Islam, proclaimed that the religion of the faithful was in danger. He was immediately joined by a great part of the armed population of the town, and letters having been despatched to the surrounding districts, numbers of resolute and enthusiastic Mohammedans flocked to his rescue, particularly from the towns of Pilibhit, Shahjehanpur, and Rampur, the two last being comprised in the independent Jagir of Ahmed Ali Khan, the Nawab of Rampur. Religious enthusiasm, national aversion, and the love of tumultuous excitement, thus combined to attract recruits to the standard, and, in the course of two days, assembled some five or six thousand men, armed with swords and matchlocks, scarcely knowing for what they were about to contend, but not the less resolved to peril their lives in the contest.¹

On their part, the European functionaries were active in preparing for the encounter. The force at their disposal consisted only of about two hundred and seventy men of the 2nd battalion of the 27th regiment of Native infantry, with two guns, under Captain Boscawen, and one hundred and fifty of a Provincial Battalion commanded by Lieut. Lucas. Two companies of the former were immediately posted near the mosque to keep the Mufti and his adherents in check, while the cantonments and European residents were under the protection of the remainder. Application for reinforcements was despatched to the nearest stations, and Captain Cunningham, with a regi-

¹ Great exaggeration prevailed in the reported numbers of the insurgents. They were said to amount to five thousand matchlockmen, seven thousand swordsmen, and a large body armed with spears and clubs. One thousand five hundred matchlocks were said to have come from Pilibhit alone, the whole of the Pilibhit party not exceeding three or four hundred. About the same number moved from Rampur, but did not all arrive in time. There is nowhere any exact report of the number engaged, but that stated in the text seems to be most probable. Had time permitted, the multitude would have greatly increased, as many bodies were on the march, when news of the result of the action sent them back.—*Asiatic Monthly Journal*, Jan. 5, 1817. In the evidence of Major Macan, he states that ten or fifteen thousand men assembled in 1816 at Bareilly.—*Comm. Comm. Evid. Military*, p. 209.

BOOK II. considerable of their order had usurped, during the preceding times of anarchy; and although the districts, for
 CHAP. III. the revenues of which they were held accountable, were
 1816. not intended to be exempted from the jurisdiction of the Company's officers, yet no measures had been formally adopted to bring them within the sphere of the regulations. The Talukdars were silently suffered to exercise supreme judicial authority within their own estates, to regulate their own police, to keep up large bodies of military followers, and to convert their places of residence into fortresses of formidable extent and strength. Of these petty chieftains, one of the most considerable was Dayaram, Talukdar or Zemindar of a number of villages in the Doab, in the district of Aligerh. His residence was at the fort and adjacent walled town of Hatras. The fort was of the usual construction of similar strongholds, built of mud, or rather of sun-dried clay, having walls of great height and thickness, with towers at the angles, mounting a number of guns, and defended by a very broad and deep ditch. The town was also protected by a wall and a ditch. The force kept up by Dayaram was about eight thousand strong, of which three thousand five hundred were horse.

The consequence of possessing so many of the attributes of independence were a belief in its reality and a spirit of opposition to any interference with its exercise. While professing obedience to the will of the Government, the authority of its officers was perpetually evaded or defied, and although the revenue was duly discharged, yet the means by which it was collected were often oppressive and tyrannical, and the villagers in vain appealed to the protection of the paramount power: any attempt to enforce either civil or criminal justice within the Taluk was baffled or resisted: criminals were either openly sheltered, or covertly enabled to escape from punishment, and gangs of robbers were permitted to fix their headquarters in the country of the Talukdar, on condition of paying him a share of the spoils, levied from the adjoining districts. These evils had been frequently noticed by the Government, the Landholders menaced with its displeasure, and the judicial officers directed to carry the regulations into effect; but the demolition of their forts

was an indispensable preliminary to the humiliation of their possessors, and this it had not hitherto been found convenient or deemed prudent to attempt. The Governor-General in Council now determined to take advantage of the concentration of troops in progress in the Western Provinces, and to accomplish the extinction of the power of the contumacious landholders, if necessary, by military operations. Dayaram, as the most powerful and most audacious, was accordingly required to testify the sincerity of his profession of allegiance, by disbanding his troops and dismantling his fortress of Hatras; and a strong division,¹ under the command of General Marshall, took the field in the beginning of the year, to show that the requisition was not to be trifled with.

BOOK II.

CHAP. III.

1816.

The troops employed against Hatras marched from the several military stations of Cawnpur, Muttra, and Meerut, early in February, and the fort was completely invested by the 12th of that month. Overtures of submission were made by Dayaram, but the demolition of his stronghold was a condition to which he could not be prevailed upon to yield, and recourse being necessarily had to compulsion, batteries were opened against the town and fort, and a vigorous bombardment was kept up upon the latter. A practical breach was effected in the walls of the town by the 23rd, but the garrison avoided a storm, and evacuated the place on the following morning. The bombardment of the fort continued with increased activity, and most of the buildings were in ruins. On the 2nd of March, a shell made its way into the powder magazine, and was followed by a tremendous explosion, which completed the work of desolation within the ramparts. The besieged still maintained a show of resistance, and returned the fire of the batteries; but Dayaram, now convinced of the futility of resistance, and alarmed for his safety, effected his escape at midnight with a small body of retainers. They were encountered by a party of the dragoons, but

¹ It consisted of the 8th and 24th light dragoons, 3rd and 7th N. C., 1st and 2nd Rohilla horse and rocket troop; his Majesty's 14th and 87th regiments, and of Native Infantry, the 2nd battalion of the 1st, 1st battalion of the 11th, 2nd battalion of the 12th, 2nd battalion of the 15th, 2nd battalion of the 21st, 3rd battalion of the 29th, and 2nd grenadier battalion. Besides artillery and pioneers, the ordnance comprised seventy-one mortars and howitzers, and fifty-four battering guns (24 and 18-pounders), besides 12-pounders for cannon; the whole under the direction of Major Anbury as chief engineer.

BOOK II. which led to serious outrages, and was only tranquillized
 CHAP. III. by the seizure of the ringleaders and the confinement of
 1817. the manager. In the Moheri estate, the Rani, the representative of an ancient family, had been dispossessed by a fraudulent sale of the lands she inherited: although she was personally engaged in no commotion, yet her tenants took up her cause, and not only expelled or murdered the people of the intrusive purchaser, but the officers of the Police, and committed extensive depredations on the neighbouring lands. The Raja of the hill country of Gumsar, in like manner was irritated by the attempts of the Police to bring him before the tribunal of the Company's courts, and, in the frenzy of his resentment, perpetrated acts of violence which led to his forcible imprisonment. The people of Gumsar, a highly barbarous race, continued, nevertheless, in arms, and committed the most atrocious excesses upon the peaceable population of the lowlands, which were retaliated by the despatch of troops into the district. These disturbances were not repressed without the employment of five battalions of infantry and a regiment of cavalry, under the command of General Rumley; and, although the presence of so large a force deterred the insurgents from assembling in any strength, yet they long lurked in the impenetrable thickets on the borders of Cuttack and Ganjam, prepared to resume their depredations in the latter, and lending their aid to the troubles which agitated the former province in 1817.¹

The wish of the Government to be relieved from the irksome task of managing the turbulent Cherus and Kharwars, the military cultivators of Palamu, upon the sale of the Zemindari for arrears of revenue, induced them to transfer it, in 1816, to a neighbouring Zemindar, who consented to be responsible for the revenue at a reduced rate, and to superintend and manage the police. The villages were generally held by tenants who had been accustomed to consider themselves permanent occupants, at a fixed rate of assessment. Their new chief began his reign by raising the rents of some and wholly dispossess-

¹ Reports on the State of the Northern Circars, by Mr. W. Thackeray, in March, 1819. Selections from the Records, I. 974. Visit of Sir Thomas Munro to the Northern Circars, January, 1823. Ibid. III. 555; also MSS. Records.

ing others: a general rising ensued: the officers of the Zemindar were attacked, some were killed, the police stations were demolished, and the riot was not put down without the employment of a military force. As rights sanctified by long prescription and popular estimation had undoubtedly been invaded, contrary to the intention of the Government, the renter was removed, and the management of the district taken under the immediate superintendence of the Company, by which means order was, for a season at least, restored.

BOOK II.
CHAP. III.
1817.

In Cuttack the insurrection was more extensive, and its suppression longer delayed. It arose out of the operation of the revenue enactments of the Government; but its immediate and exciting cause was the manner in which those enactments were executed, the flagrant extortion and cruel oppression practised by the subordinate functionaries of every department of the state. The natives of Orissa had always been proverbial for mental dulness, and their inaptitude for public duties occasioned, even under their own princes, while the country was yet a Hindu kingdom, the employment in all offices of trust of foreigners from the neighbouring countries of Telingana and Bengal. The latter chiefly filled the public stations under the English magistrates and collectors, and, under a succession of superiors, who seem to have exercised little vigilance or activity in controlling their subordinates or in punishing corruption, preyed with impunity upon the helpless and bewildered population of the province, and rendered the Government itself dreaded and detested.

The rigorous exaction of the Government assessment on the land everywhere calculated, in combination with the improvidence of the Zemindars, to lead to their impoverishment and ruin, was peculiarly mischievous in Cuttack. The amount, originally calculated on an erroneous principle, was excessive, and,¹ in order to discharge

¹ The original assessment was computed on an average of that which appeared to have been paid for some years to the Mahrattas, but the Mahratta assessment was liable to many deductions which were not admitted into the British. Even then it exceeded the average amount by 1,65,000 rupees, the Mahratta being Rs. 10,15,000, the British Rs. 11,80,000. Under the periodical and progressive assessments, however, this amount had been raised, in 1816-17. to Rs. 13,82,000. The augmentation had been made at random. In Khurda the highest assessment under the former system never exceeded five annas per biga; under the later arrangement it amounted to seven and a half.

BOOK II. it, the Zemindars were compelled to raise their demands
 CHAP. III. upon the people, who were generally wholly unable to pay
 1817. them. The Zemindars, consequently, fell speedily¹ into
 arrears, and their estates were sold to new men, either to
 the revenue officers themselves, or their Bengali country-
 men, whose means of gratifying the cupidity of the public
 functionaries rendered many of their sales wholly collusive
 and fraudulent;² and sacrificed the original proprietor not
 so much at the shrine of public good as of private emolu-
 ment.³ The intrusive Zemindars, odious from their very
 intrusion, and the sinister course well known to the
 people, by which their end was attained, eager to make
 "the most of their purchases, incurred by their unsparing
 extortions still more intense hatred. By their exactions
 the rents of the tenants were raised to the highest possible
 amount, and those who claimed to hold their lands on
 easy terms, in lieu of certain services, were either fully
 assessed, or were turned adrift.⁴ These latter were, for
 the most part, the only persons in the province familiar
 with the use of arms; the Paiks, or militia and police of
 the country under the Native Government; and they were
 little inclined to submit with patience to the loss of their
 property and annihilation of their privileges.

To these subjects of public distress and discontent was
 added another pressure upon the people, in the extreme
 enhancement of the price of an article of first necessity,
 Salt, in consequence of the precipitate introduction of the
 Company's monopoly. The price was injudiciously fixed
 at a rate far beyond the means of the inhabitants of the
 province, being six or seven times that at which it had
 been ordinarily sold.⁵ The state benefited but compara-

¹ Of 3,000 Zemindars who had contracted for the revenue in 1803, only 1450 were in possession in 1817-18.

² The Munshi of one of the Collectors purchased an estate, assessed at an annual Jumma, of 50,000 rupees, for 23,000 rupees,—less than half a year's purchase.

³ The estate of Hamishpore, although one of those held at a quit-rent, was sold for arrears and bought by an opulent Bengali; the dispossessed Zemindar was, of course, one of the leaders of the insurrection.

⁴ Such were the effects of these measures that the people sold everything, even to their wives and children, to obtain sustenance, and when all was insufficient they abandoned their homes and fled into the forests. In the course of 1816 between five and six thousand houses were thus deserted, and the country was becoming depopulated.

⁵ On the extension of the monopoly to the southern divisions of Cuttack, the price in Khurda rose from about fourteen annas to six rupees per maund. This was peculiarly oppressive to the people of Orissa, as they were accustomed to eat their boiled rice on the second day, when it was stale and more than originally insipid.

tively little, for smuggling was almost openly practised by the very persons appointed to prevent it. Yet, as the illicit traders kept up the prices, the people suffered severely, and were ripe for a revolt against the Government, by whose measures and whose agents, they were deprived of the means of procuring the necessaries of life. Nor were the judicial arrangements of their new rulers less obnoxious to the simple and ignorant inhabitants, accustomed to summary and informal decision. Unacquainted with the very language of the regulations,¹ and incapable of comprehending the forms of the courts, they found themselves entirely at the mercy of the public officers, and were made to pay heavily for justice, which, in the end, they seldom attained. The police was a still more insufferable grievance; in lieu of the native *Paiks*, *Darogas* and their myrmidons were introduced, and were as rapacious as they were inefficient. Property was annihilated, and little security for person survived.²

BOOK II.
CHAP. III.
1817.

The province of Cuttack was distributed between two classes of occupants; those who cultivated the *Mogulbandi*, the open and most productive part of the country, and the people of the *Rajwara*, which, on one side of the *Mogulbandi*, extended in a narrow slip along the sea coast, and, on the other hand, spread westward over a broad expanse of hill and wilderness. The estates of the *Mogulbandi* were assessed on the same principles as those in Bengal; the *Rajwara* estates, consisting of tracts ill adapted to cultivation, were held at a low quit rent, and on the condition of military service.³ One of the most considerable was the district of *Khurda*, lying a short distance west of the celebrated shrine of *Jaganmuth*. It was the *Zemindari* of the *Raja* of *Khurda*, who was dear to the

¹ They were in Bengali.

² The police *Daroga* of *Khurda* contrived, in the course of a few years, to extort a lakh of rupees (10,000*l.*) from the villagers. The *Serjeant* of the Civil Court of Cuttack was convicted of having taken bribes to the extent of about 60,000 rupees (6,000*l.*) in a few cases, and had realized a very large property by an unchecked course of similar corruption. It is worthy of note that the officers of the courts who were punished for their malpractices were all Mohammedans. Hindu functionaries would not probably have been more honest under such a system, but they would have been less daring, less tyrannical, and might have been less insatiable; at any rate, they would have been less obnoxious to the *Uriya* population, although a dislike of Bengalis seems to have been a national feeling. One of the grievances urged by the insurgents was, that "a parcel of Bengalis pretended to be their masters."

³ Account of Orissa, by A. Stirling.—*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv.

BOOK II. people, as the hereditary descendant of the once powerful
 CHAP. III. Chajapatl king of Orissa, the acknowledged head of the
 several petty chiefs, and who was invested with additional
 sanctity from his having the hereditary privilege of being
 1817. the keeper of the temple of Vishnu. The estate of
 Khurda had been held under the Mahrattas, at a light quit-
 rent; under the English authorities, it was assessed at a
 rate at which the Raja declined to hold it, and he was
 accordingly allowed to reside at Puri, in discharge of his
 duties in the temple, upon a yearly malikana, while his
 lands were taken under the management of the revenue
 officers. Their management, in the course of a few years,
 reduced the people to poverty and despair, and this pro-
 voked was consequently the seat of the first and most
 violent disorders.

The distressed Paiks and Ryots of Khurda found a
 bold and active leader in Jagbandhu, who was the here-
 ditary Rakhshi, or paymaster and commander of the Raja
 of Khurda, and proprietor of a landed estate in the pro-
 vince. By a course of chicanery and fraud, in which the
native chiefs were chiefly concerned, he was deprived of
 his patrimony, and told to seek redress in the courts of
 law. He was too poor and too impatient of wrong to
 appeal to such tardy and uncertain protection, and rashly,
 though pardonably, attempted to vindicate his own rights
 by the instrumentality of popular insurrection. Assisted
 by a body of the wild tribes of Gumsar, and joined by a
 number of Paiks and unhoused Ryots, he appeared in the
 chief village of Khurda, attacked and put the police to
 flight, and killed some of the people; set the station on
 fire, and plundered and burnt the office of the government
 collector. No injury was done to any one unconnected
 with the Government. The success of this attack was
 soon spread abroad; the whole province was in a state of
 insurrection, and Jagbandhu, in a few weeks, was at the
 head of above three thousand rioters, armed with swords,
 spears, bows and arrows, and a few matchlocks.

* The Raja paid to the Mahrattas, when they could compel him to pay any-
 thing, 15,000 rupees a-year, but he often evaded the payment. He was willing
 to engage for double the amount to the British Government, but a lakh, or
 100,000 rupees was demanded. This he declared himself unable to discharge.
 It was, however, raised, and in 1816 augmented to 1,25,000 rupees, of which
 25,000 rupees were paid to the Raja for subsistence.

As soon as news of the tumult reached Cuttack, a detachment of troops was despatched to Khurda; a party from which, sent out to collect provisions, was surprised at the pass of Ganjpura, and was driven back on the main body, with the loss of an officer, Ensign Faris, commanding it. The rest of the detachment fell back to Pipli losing their baggage and cattle. A second attempt made by the magistrate, with a military guard, to enter Khurda, failed, and the party retreated to Cuttack, harassed by the insurgents. Jagbandhu was, in consequence, emboldened to advance to the town of Jagannath, of which he took possession. The only force at this place consisted of about eighty Sipahis, while the rioters were estimated at four thousand. The town was plundered; the fort, buildings, and bungalows were set on fire, and the troops stationed for the defence of the collector's house and treasury, were attacked; they repulsed the assailants, but the officer commanding judged it expedient to retreat with the public treasure to Cuttack. This affair contributed to extend the insurrection, and every district in which the ancient proprietors had been deprived of their estates, was in arms. The triumph of the rebels at Puri, was short-lived. One of their objects in marching thither had been to place their Raja at their head; but his fears or his prudence deterred him from connecting himself with the disturbance, and one material element of opposition was thus defective. At the same time, Capt. Le Fevre, with the greater part of the 1st battalion of the 18th N. I., marched from Khurda to recover Puri. At Devendra, the battalion was encountered by the Uriyas, and an action ensued, which speedily terminated in their defeat. Puri was re-occupied, and the person of the Raja being secured, he was removed to Cuttack.

Although the affair at Devendra showed that the insurgents were wholly unable to cope with the regular troops, the disturbances were far from being allayed. Khurda was entirely in their possession, and in the beginning of May, a body of above two thousand made an attack upon a detachment at Pipli in the neighbourhood. It was repulsed, and the rebels never afterwards appeared in force; but risings took place in Limbai, Kurdes, and Kujang, which the civil power was unable to restrain, and to

BOOK II.
CHAP. III.
1817.

BOOK II. suppress which it was necessary to station troops in the
CHAP. III. provinces. Martial law was proclaimed, reinforcements
 1816 were despatched to Cuttack, and General Sir Gabriel Mar-
 tindell was ordered to take the command, with additional
 authority, as joint commissioner with the judge and
 magistrate. By the military dispositions which were
 made, and, in a still greater degree, by the assurance held
 out to the people by the military commissioner, that their
 grievances, if peaceably represented, would be listened to
 and redressed, tranquillity, through the greater part of
 the troubled districts, was restored by the end of the year.
 Jagannath, and some of the leaders, still, however, kept
 aloof, and lurked for a while in the wild tracts along the
 upper course of the Mahanadi; but driven from thence by
 the combined operation of detachments sent from Cuttack,
 to Boud, and others from Sambalpur, they retreated to
 Khampir, in the southwest angle of the province, where
 the Khonds of Gum or gave them shelter; and, although
 large rewards were offered for their apprehension, none of
 their adherents proved treacherous, none of the people of
 the country were tempted to betray them.

The tranquillity of Cuttack was confirmed by the
 appointment of a special commissioner,¹ with extensive
 powers; and by the measures and enactments of the
 Government, adopted at his suggestion, large remissions
 of arrears and reductions in the assessment were made,²
 and the revenue officers were authorized, at discretion, to
 suspend the sale of the estates of defaulters, and rather
 subject their persons to imprisonment.³ A new settle-
 ment was made for three years;⁴ such of the native officers

¹ Mr. Key, and afterwards upon his death, Mr. Bloor. Besides the pecuniary benefits derived from this arrangement, there is the very important establishment of a United Company, and, we owe to it a strong and liberal government of Orissa, of great interest and value, drawn up by the secretary to the Commission, Mr. Arthur Stirling, a member of the civil service of Bengal, and one of its ablest ornaments, although his career was cut short by a too early death. The account is printed in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv.

² When the Commissioner reached Cuttack, the balance of arrears exceeded nineteen lakhs of rupees, (£190,000) of which about six were remitted; the consequence was the restitution of the revenues of the year 1814-15, with a very trifling balance, and with a very limited recourse to the resource of a public sale. The revenue on the tributary Mats was reduced from Rs. 333,000 to 204,000. More attention than heretofore was paid to the farmers, and in the estates held under the Government, settlements were made with the Ryots. Revenue Letter from Bengal, 25th March, 1816. Selections from the Records, III. 64.

³ Reg. 2, of 1816.

⁴ Reg. 21, of 1816.

as had been most notorious for extortion and oppression, were deservedly punished, and such of their European superiors as were considered to be implicated in the causes of the insurrection, were removed. Some of the unhappy people who had been driven into rebellion lost their lives in action, and others, taken with arms in their hands, suffered death under the operation of martial law: when that ceased, the offenders were transferred to the civil power, and many were condemned to a prolonged period of confinement and hard labour. By these several means of severity and conciliation, the province was so entirely tranquilized, that in August, 1819, a general amnesty was proclaimed, with the exception of a few of the leaders. Some years elapsed before they were considered to be objects of clemency: but, in 1823, Jagbandhu was induced to surrender himself, and was allowed to reside in Cuttack upon a pension from the Government. This event extinguished the last spark of rebellion in which the people were much less to blame than the functionaries of the state, whether native or European, the former having remorselessly aggravated, by corruption and tyranny, intolerable burthens; the latter having permitted free scope to their subordinates, neglected to make themselves acquainted with the institutions of the country and the circumstances of the people, and having omitted to bring to the knowledge of the Government the utter inapplicability to Cuttack of arrangements which, whether applicable or not, had been imposed upon the agricultural population of Bengal.¹

The transactions, however illustrative of the state of Indian society, and instructive to the British Government in regard to their future relations with their native subjects, attracted little notice: and may, perhaps, excite little interest amidst the more momentous political and military transactions which, about the same period, convulsed the whole of Hindustan.

¹ Printed Correspondence relating to Cuttack, Selections from the Records, II. 67; and M.S. Records.

CHAPTER IV.

Relaxation of Peshwa's Designs of the Peshwa, — Influence of Tristram B. — Conflict on Baroda, — Mission of Gungahar Sirdar to Peshwa, — Coldly received, — Other Agents, — Change of Tristram, — Apparent cordiality, — Assistance given to the Peshwa, — Journey to Pondicherry, — Murder of Gungahar, — Inquiry demanded, — Tristram's indignation, — Resident demands his Arrest, — Peshwa's reluctance, — Compelled to give him up, — Tristram's conflict at Tanjore, — Discontent of Marhatta Princes, — Objection of the Raja of Nagpur to a Subsidiary Alliance, — His Designs upon Pithor, — Union with Sindhia against the Nizam, — Siege of Akpaul, — Gallant Defence, — Besiegers retire, — Proprietors of Sindhia, — British Interference, — Sindhia independent, but respects Operations, — Alliance not formed, — Death of the Nizam, and of the Raja of Nagpur, — Aga Sahib's Regent, — Subsidiary Alliance concluded, — Sindhia, — His Intemperance, — Dissensions of his Government, — His Policy, — Son and Successor of Melhar Rao Melhar adopted, — Tulsi Bai Regent, — Dismissal of the Minister, — Put to Death, — Troops Meeting, — Flight of the Regent and Young Raja, — Tulsi Bai Minister, — Reconciliation negotiated, — State of Affairs in Rajputana, — Chand Sing defeats the Mohammedans, — Defeated by them, — Jaggur ravaged by Amir Khan, — Raja of Jaggur and Jodhpur reconciled by his Mediation, — Fresh Quarrels, and both States laid waste, — The Khan marches to Jodhpur, — Domestic Intrigues, — The Minister and Family Priest of the Raja assassinated, — Man Sing feigns Insanity, and abdicates, — Continuance of Amir Khan's Depredations, — Distracted State of Central India.

BOOK II. **T**HE political relations established with the court of
 CHAP. IV. Peshwa, had borne, as we have remarked, for some time
 1814. past, an uneasy complexion. The claims of the Peshwa
 upon Baroda and Hyderabad, still remained unadjusted,
 and he ascribed the delay to the purposed procrastination
 of the British authorities. Their intervention also pro-

tected the estates of his feudatories from his secret or open encroachments, and his title to be regarded as the head of the Mahratta confederacy, which the other leading members were willing to acknowledge, was avowedly withheld from him by the British Government. Notwithstanding the unequivocal tone in which their determination to disallow the resumption of this supremacy was declared, Bajī Rao had never desisted from unavowed intrigues for its attainment, and, in violation of the terms of the treaty of Bassein, had constantly maintained agents at the Courts of Gwalior, Indore, and Nagpur, and carried on, with little affectation of concealment, negotiations with the Bhonsla, Simbha, and Holkar. It may be doubted, however, if he ever entertained a design to engage in any serious collision with the British Government. Although bold in plotting, and tenacious of his purposes, Bajī Rao was utterly deficient in personal intrepidity, and trusted rather to persevering and secret intrigue, than to resolute and open defiance. The Peshwa was not without ability, nor incapable of exertion, but his abilities were counteracted by habits of vicious indulgence, and a disposition naturally indolent, rendered his line of activity unfrequent and of short duration. His ambition might have overcome his love of pleasure and ease, had not his excessive timidity deterred him from enterprises involving a hazard of personal safety, and induced him to have recourse to profound dissimulation in the furtherance of his designs. Suspicious and jealous of his principal officers, the Peshwa gave them but a general and imperfect confidence, and placed his sole reliance upon favourites of low origin and inferior station, who were entirely dependent upon his favour for distinction, and who repaid his confidence with unhesitating submission to his will. Although ambitious and self-seeking in general, he served himself sometimes to be considered by the holders of the reins and to be looked upon as a man whose views were necessary to his plans and success in his career. His influence feeble and uncertain, Bajī Rao was nevertheless the hero here as in every Mahratta project, and for the purpose with which he pursued his intrigues, he might be said to occasionally have been successful.

Confront him self, in person, to counteract his negotiations; and Govind Rao Bundaji Gokhar, an agent of the discredited minister Sitaram, — with Bhagwant Rao Gokhar, an illegitimate brother of Anand Rao, and representative of the interior of the palace of Baroda, also in the interest of Sitaram, were sent to Poona, almost simultaneously with the Sastri, to assure the Peshwa, that if he would bring about the restoration of Sitaram to the office of Dewan, all his claims should be immediately complied with, and his supremacy be acknowledged. The last was tempting, and although success was little probable, yet an additional inducement was thus supplied to treat the Sastri with neglect, and the very institution of the intrigue was too congenial to the Peshwa's character, for him to resist the temptation of plunging into its dark and dangerous labyrinth.

Well acquainted with the counteracting forces which were secretly at work, and despairing of obtaining an audience, Gangadhar applied for permission to return to

Baroda, when afraid of exciting the serious displeasure of the British Government by the abrupt close of negotiations, undertaken at their earnest recommendation, and recalled to a sense of the risk, by the earnest remonstrances of the British Resident; projecting too, even at this season, apparently, the catastrophe which finally closed the transaction,¹ the Peshwa's advisers adopted a total change of conduct, and exhibited towards the Sastri a degree of cordiality, which constituted a marked contrast to their previous inattention. Private interviews took place between Trimbak and Gangadhar, in which the former avowed that he had been actively opposed to the latter, and had even listened to devices against his life; but he asserted that the Peshwa had now become convinced, that it was for his advantage to have the Sastri for his friend, and was willing to pay that deference to his opinions to which they were entitled by his acknowledged sagacity and experience. Great pains were taken to act upon the negotiator's vanity—which was as remarkable as his ability—and, for a time, with success. He was made to believe that the Peshwa was most anxious to engage his services, and nominate him as his own minister; and a matrimonial alliance was concerted between his son and the sister of the wife of Baji Rao. On his part, he engaged that the Gaekwar should assign to the Peshwa lands yielding seven lakhs a-year in lieu of his claims, and should conclude a treaty of amity with Poona, without the intervention of the British Resident. The question of territorial cession was, however, referred to the government of Baroda, and pending the reference, Gangadhar accompanied the Peshwa to the sacred shrine of Nasik,² where extensive preparations were made for the celebration of the nuptials.

Whether it was the result of his own reflections, or of the suggestions of his friends, Gangadhar Sastri soon became apprehensive that he had been cajoled into communications incompatible with the interests of his court, and

¹ Reports were current at Poona, that designs were on foot against the life of the Sastri. An intercepted letter to Sitaram from one of his correspondents at Poona, dated August 1814, remarks, "Every one here says that the Sastri cannot come back again."—Ms. Records.

² Nasik is a place of considerable sanctity, as the reputed scene of one of Kāma's adventures, when in exile, and is said to derive its name from the cutting off the nose (Nāśikā) of a Rājashah or Ogrees. It appears under the same name, Nāśikā, in Ptolemy, and its importance is therefore of some antiquity, as well as the legend.

BOOK II. immediate vicinity, almost in his presence ; and such an
 CHAP. IV. outrage, under such circumstances, could not be perpetrated with impunity, without involving his Highness in a suspicion of having sanctioned its commission. The remonstrances of the Resident were backed by a letter of admonition to the Peshwa from the Governor-General, but nothing could induce either him or his counsellor to institute a serious enquiry. It was affirmed that no clue to the perpetrators could be obtained, that the Sastri had many enemies, and acted imprudently in moving abroad so scantily attended ; in short his death was the work of destiny, and no good could result from further investigation. European notions of public obligations were not so easily satisfied. Although it was probable that the active instruments in the murder were the emissaries from Peshwa, one of whom, Bandoji, was known to have been in Panderpur at the time of the assassination ; yet it was clear that Trimbak, at least, was deeply implicated in the occurrence. His repeated and earnest invitations to the Sastri to repair to the temple, could be accounted for only by his being a party to a scheme for affording to the murderers an opportunity of executing their design ; and the indifference with which he received the intelligence, his private conferences with Bandoji, both before and after the assassination, and the entire absence of any attempt to discover the murderers, were unequivocal proofs of his participation in the crime ; of the participation, indeed, of the Peshwa himself ;¹ but as the punishment of the latter was embarrassed by obvious political considerations, the agent and necessary was made responsible for the act ; and the arrest of Trimbak, and his delivery to the British

¹ The Peshwa, on the occasion, after his apprehension, accused the Peshwa of having instigated the murder, as part of a plot to secure the restoration of Nizam to office, on condition of his subservience to the interests of the Peshwa, at Bhopal. At another time, he professed not to know who the author was, but he believed Bandoji was chiefly concerned. The truth seems to have been that Bandoji was the principal instrument of the crime, but to see would have found its commission, unless secured of the concurrence of the Peshwa and the cooperation of Trimbak. The share of Bandoji in the murder was not doubted by Bandoji, he was known to have gone secretly to Panderpur with armed followers, at the time, and to have given a very considerable sum of money to his servants, professedly for their expenses on the journey ; to have held also several secret interviews with Trimbak, both at Panderpur and Peshwa. A letter from him to the Resident, Talbot, dated shortly before, conveyed the information that "the Sastri would never return to Bhopal." On his return to the British war's territory he was confined for life in prison, in the fort of Gondwar on the Tapti. Bhandarkar Rao was also imprisoned.—Mss. Records.

Government, were declared to be the indispensable conditions of preserving undisturbed amicable relations with the Peshwa. BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

The demand made for the delivery of his favourite was for some time strenuously resisted by the Peshwa, who urged that the imprisonment of an individual against whom no proof could be produced, was an act of manifest injustice, and professed his readiness to place Trimbak in confinement himself, could the charge of his being accessory to the murder of the Sastri be substantiated against him. However plausible the objection, it was not entitled to any consideration, for Raji Rao well knew that none of his people would venture to prefer an accusation against his minister while at large: upon his being removed, the Resident pledged himself to bring forward the evidence which had seemed to the British Government sufficient to involve Trimbak in the transaction. It was with great difficulty that the reluctance of the Peshwa was overcome, and for a moment he seemed to contemplate the alternative of open hostility. His fears of the result, however, prevailed, and he consented to give up the person of Trimbak, on condition that his life should be spared, and that his imprisonment should not be attended with any unnecessary severity. Trimbak was accordingly delivered to a detachment of the Poona brigade, on the 17th of September, and was immediately marched off to Thanna, where he was confined. The emissaries from Baroda were at the same time apprehended, and sent to Guzerat.

The communications which had been carried on by the Peshwa, with the several Mahratta courts, had not been unattended by consequences unpropitious to the continuance of tranquillity, and the maintenance of British influence. The chiefs were generally discontented with their position. Forgetting the peril in which their former enmity had involved them as its effects ceased to be felt, and misunderstanding the motives of the forbearance which the victors had exercised, they were alone sensible of the comparative insignificance to which they had been reduced, and impatient of the restraint which the predominating power of the British imposed upon their career of universal spoliation. The instigations of the Peshwa fomented these feelings, and rendered them more

BOOK II. than ever anxious to concentrate and combine their
 CHAP. IV. strength under the direction of a prince, whom they ac-
 1815. knowledged to be the legitimate head of the Mahratta
 federation. Various subjects occurred about this period to
 aggravate their dissatisfaction and excite their animosity.

The object of maintaining a military division perma-
 nently in the field, for the protection of the frontiers of
 Berar from the incursions of Amir Khan, and the ravages
 of the predatory bands, known as Pindaris, in consequence
 of the inefficiency of the troops of the Bhondla, imposed
 an extraordinary burthen upon the government of Bengal,
 which Lord Minto had conceived it incumbent upon the
 Raja of Nagpur to defray. The charge was incurred for
 his benefit, and the defence was an act of voluntary aid,
 unprovided for by any subsisting engagements. The most
 ready method of reciprocating the service and the cost
 would be a subsidiary alliance, and, with the entire con-
 currence of the home authorities, the British Government
 had, for some years past, endeavoured to prevail upon the
 Raja to contract a connection of this description. Raghují
 Bhondla, however, felt assured that he would not be left
 to fall a sacrifice to hordes of plunderers, who would then,
 with additional exert and resources, be brought more im-
 mediately into contact with the British possessions. He
 was possibly of opinion, that even if unassisted, he might
 by policy or force, provide for his own protection; and he
 prized too highly the privilege of exemption from foreign
 control to barter his independence for military succour.
 The submission of his internal relations with other native
 princes to the interpretation of a British Resident, would
 also have put a stop to the execution of his designs against
 the principality of Bhopal, a portion of which he expected
 to be able, in concert with Doulat Rao Sindhia, to annex
 to his own dominions.

Shortly after the repulse of Amir Khan, and the with-
 drawal of the British forces, Raghují Bhondla entered into
 an alliance with Sindhia, for the annihilation of the Nawab
 of Bhopal, and the partition of his country between the
 confederates; and at the end of the rainy season of 1815,
 an army from Nagpur, commanded by Sadik Ali, and a
 force from Gwalior, led by Jaggú Bepú, entered the Bhopal
 territories. Unable to face such superior forces, Vizir

Mohammed threw himself, with such troops as he could assemble, into the city of Bhopal, where he determined to defend himself to the last extremity. Bhopal was situated on high and uneven ground, not far from a portion of the Vindhya range of mountains, and was about four miles in circumference. It was surrounded on three sides by a tolerable wall, but was without a ditch, or other defences. The south side was protected by a citadel, placed on the high bank of an artificial lake, formed by embankments, connecting contiguous hills, extending on the west of the town, about five miles in length, and one in breadth. Most of the inhabitants had been sent away. The garrison, including a body of three thousand Pindaris, amounted at first to eleven thousand men, but when the besiegers had occupied most of the approaches to the city, the deficiency of forage compelled the retreat of the Pindaris, and other mounted troops, leaving no more than five or six thousand men to defend Bhopal, against the united armies of Sindhia and Nagpur, exceeding at least ten times that number.¹ The siege commenced at the end of October, 1813. The operations of the besiegers were tardy, and their fire of little effect; but in the course of December they had completed the investment of the town, except on the side of the lake, across which supplies were for some period longer conveyed to the garrison. In the course of December and January, repeated attempts were made to carry the place by escalade, but they were met by Vizir Mohammed, and his son Nazar Mohammed, with undaunted intrepidity, and resolutely repulsed. The most formidable enemy the garrison had to encounter was famine, for the Mahrattas had bribed the boatmen who had been employed to carry provisions across the lake, and this source of supply being cut off, the troops were exposed to the severest suffering. The Mohammedans assuaged their hunger by the flesh of the animals that perished of want, while the Hindus endeavoured to appease the cravings of nature with decayed vegetable matter — bruised tamarind stones, and the leaves of trees; — numbers, unable to endure these privations, deserted;

BOOK II.

CHAP. IV.

1815.

¹ According to native authority, cited by Sir J. Malcolm, the united armies amounted to seventy thousand, which, however, he thinks may be exaggerated by ten or fifteen thousand men, but "the force," he adds, "is acknowledged by all to have been very great."—Central India, i. 398.

BOOK II. and the desertions, with the casualties of the siege
 CHAP. IV. reduced the garrison from about six thousand to as many
 ————— hundreds.

1814.

In the month of March, 1814, the death of Jaggá Bapá, and the ceremonies which followed, suspended the operations of the besiegers, and afforded the garrison an interval of repose, and an opportunity of repairing the walls of the town. In the following May, one of Virir Mohammed's officers, a Rajput, was tampered with by Salik Ali, and introduced a party of five hundred of the Nagpur troops, by night, into the post which he commanded. Conceiving themselves already masters of Bhopal, the Mahrattas awaited day-light for the resumption of their operations, and, halting at the mausoleum of one of the Nawabs of Bhopal, put aside their arms, and laid down to rest. Their entrance was discovered, and reported to Virir Mohammed, who, perceiving that no time was to be lost, immediately attacked the enemy, although not having more than thirty men about his person. The attack was led by Názir Mohammed; the Mahrattas were taken by surprise, and many fell under the first fire of the Patane, who, allowing them no time to recover from their confusion, rushed among them with their swords, and put them to flight. They evacuated the post with precipitation, leaving behind above a hundred killed and wounded. Either the failure of this attempt, or some motives unavowed, induced Salik Ali to weary of the enterprise; and pretending that he had been prohibited from its prosecution by a dream, he broke up his camp, and deaf to the remonstrances of Sindhia's officers, marched back to Nagpur. The accession of Salik Ali, and the loss which the Mahrattas had suffered, left them little prospect of continuing the siege with advantage, and a fortnight afterwards they withdrew to Sarangpur, where they were cantoned for the rains.

Although Bhopal, after a siege of nine months, was relieved from present danger, the peril was not passed. Great exertions were made by Sindhia to recruit his forces, and an army, more efficiently equipped, was prepared to resume operations as soon as the weather permitted. They were further delayed by a quarrel between the Mahratta leaders, Jeswant Rao Bhao, and Jean Baptiste Filoze, a

person of mixed European and Indian descent, who had succeeded to the command of one of Sindhia's disciplined brigades, consisting of eight battalions with forty guns. The quarrel came to blows, when the Bhao was defeated, and driven to take shelter under the walls of Bhopal. The forces of Baptiste, however, were of themselves adequate to the reduction of the city, when the interposition of the British Government saved Vizir Mohammed from destruction. The interposition was based upon a double motive, gratitude for past, and expectation of future service. That the march across central India, by General Goddard, in 1778, was successfully accomplished, was in main attributable to the friendly treatment which the detachment experienced from Hyat Mohammed, the Nawab of Bhopal.¹ The position of the principality, its contiguity to Berar on one hand, and to the chief seats of the Pindaris on the other rendered the co-operation of the Nawab of essential importance in the measures which were contemplated by the British Government for the suppression of the predatory system. Vizir Mohammed earnestly entreated to be taken under British protection, and a prudent regard for British interests recommended compliance with his request. A negotiation was accordingly entered into with the Nawab, of which notice was given to the Mahratta princes. The Peshwa and the Raja of Nagpur professed their cordial concurrence, but Sindhia received the announcement with a greater manifestation of resentment than he had ever expressed upon any similar occasion. He declared that the Nawab of Bhopal had been tributary to the Peshwa, and that the tribute had been transferred to him; that he would not submit to any interposition in his behalf, and that he would pursue his designs against the Nawab, be the consequence what it might. His opposition was, however, restricted to these menacing declarations. A force was assembled at Bellari, under Sir Thomas Hislop, and a division in Bundelkhand, under General

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.
1815.

¹ In the published Journal of General Goddard's march, it is mentioned that the detachments halted at Bhopal seven days, and found provisions cheap and plentiful. No obstruction to their march occurred after entering the Bhopal territory. See also the notices of this transaction in Malcolm, Grant, and Prinsep, as collected by Major Hough in his Brief History of the Bhopal Principality, p. 13.

BOOK II. Marshall, while detachments from the subsidiary forces of
 CHAP. IV. the Nizam, the Peshwa, and the Gackwar, were moved
 1815. towards the frontiers of their respective territories: and these movements, with the successes which had followed the first reversal of the Nepal war, induced a change of tone, and a silent acquiescence in the arrangements of the British Government. The meditated alliance did not at this season take place. Vizir Mohammed, with genuine Afghan duplicity, adopted the perilous policy of playing one negotiation against another; and when by the interference of the British Government its intentions towards him were notorious, entered into secret negotiations with Baptiste to induce him to retire, recalling at the same time his agents from Delhi and Banda, and showing no disposition to contract an alliance, which involved the appropriation of part of his revenues to the support of a foreign force, and some diminution of his independence and credit. Whether the terms demanded by Baptiste were more unreasonable than the Nawab expected, or whether he began to doubt the sincerity of the Mahrattas, Vizir Mohammed again intimated a desire to resume the negotiation with the British, but the Governor-General, indignant at his want of faith, declined to receive his agents, and announced to the Courts of Gwalior and Nagpur that, although he held himself at liberty to enter into any engagements with Bhopal, which might consult the interests of his Government, as well as those of the Nawab, yet that at present all intercourse with that state was at an end. This determination was in accordance with the policy of the home authorities, from whom a positive prohibition of any alliance with Bhopal was about the same time received, and in conformity to the injunctions of the Secret Committee, the Resident at Gwalior was instructed to throw no obstacle in the way of any projects which Sindhia might set on foot against Bhopal; but before he could avail himself of the license thus granted, events occurred which occupied and perplexed the counsels of the Gwalior cabinet, and ultimately placed the principality of Bhopal beyond the reach of its Mahratta enemies. Vizir Mohammed died in the beginning of 1816, and was succeeded by his second son,

Nazar Mohammed, the gallant partner of his dangers and his glory.¹

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

1816.

Whatever might have been the real feelings with which Raghuji Bhonsla received the intimation that he must forego his hostility to Bhopal, and whatever projects he may have concerted with the other Mahratta princes, his death, which occurred immediately after that of Vizir Mohammed, removed him timely from the troubled scene which was about to ensue. He was succeeded by his son, Parswaji: but as this prince was of infirm body and weak intellect, although of years to conduct the Government, it was necessary to entrust the authority to more competent hands. Parties at Nagpur were divided, but after a short struggle, Modaji Bhonsla, commonly called Apa Sahib, the nephew of the late Raja, obtained the ascendancy, and, with the concurrence of the British envoy, assumed the office of Regent. As the opponents of Apa Sahib, who were persons of considerable influence, were opposed also to the British alliance, he considered that he should best secure his newly acquired honours, by adopting a different policy, and by entering into an intimate connexion with the British Government. The subsidiary alliance which it had so long been the object of the latter to effect, was now, therefore, concluded without further difficulty or delay; and in the same month, May, in which Apa Sahib was firmly seated in the Regency, the treaty was signed by him in the name of the Raja. It was stipulated that the subsidiary force should consist of one regiment of native cavalry, six battalions of infantry, one complete company of European artillery, with the usual proportion of ordnance: and that the cost of it should be defrayed by an annual payment of seven lakhs and a half of Nagpur Rupees. That a commutation of territory for the pecuniary payment should be demanded, if the latter fell into arrear, not else, although the expedience of such an exchange might be reserved as the subject of subsequent consideration. That the British Government should protect the Raja against all foreign and domestic enemies, and that, on the other hand, the Raja should never

¹ Malcolm's Central India, I. 412, Prinsep's History of Transactions in India, I. 245. Summary by the Marquis of Hastings, printed by order of the Court of Proprietors, 23rd June, 1821, p. 10.—Hough, 89.

BOOK II. commit any hostilities against the British allies, nor
 CHAP. IV. commence or pursue any negotiations with any other state
 ———— whatever, without giving previous notice to, and entering
 1816. into mutual consultation with, the Company's Govern-
 ment. That the Raja should maintain at all times, and in
 a state of efficiency, a force consisting of not less than
 three thousand cavalry, and two thousand infantry, with
 their necessary equipments; and to attend and conform
 to whatever advice and recommendation might be afforded
 by the Resident, respecting the Contingent, allowing it to
 be mustered and inspected, or reviewed by that functionary,
 or the officer commanding the subsidiary troops, whenever
 the former should think fit. The Raja was further to
 maintain such a number of troops as he might think
 necessary, and the resources of his country might enable
 him to support, to be at all times ready to assist the
 British Government. The treaty was ratified by the
 Governor-General, in the following month, and, to all
 appearance, Nagpur had become identified in political
 interests with British India.¹

Although taking no ostensible or personal share in the
 distractions which pervaded Malwa and Rajputana, Doulat
 Rao Sindhia was unworthily busied with intrigues, tending
 to promote their perpetuation and extend their mischief.
 The disappointment of his views upon Bhopal rankled
 deeply in his breast, and confirmed his natural disposition
 to co-operate in any scheme which proposed the diminution
 of the British power. Active, though secret negotiations
 were carried on with the ministers of the Holkar
 State, with the Bhonsla, and with the Peshwa, for the
 establishment of the supreme authority of the latter, and
 the consolidation of the remaining fragments of the
 Mahratta empire,—vakils were received privately from
 Nepal, and from Ranjit Sing, and constant communications
 were maintained with the Pindari leaders, who promised
 implicit obedience to Sindhia's orders, and declared them-
 selves ready, with his sanction, to carry fire and sword
 into the Company's possessions. His own circumstances
 were, however, most unpropitious to any military under-

¹ Treaty of perpetual defensive alliance with the Raja of Nagpore, 27th
 May, 1816.—Collection of Treaties, 27th May, 1818. See also Report, Com-
 mittee House of Commons, 1832.—Pol. Ap. p. 236.

taking. His dependants and tributaries were everywhere in a state of contumacy and rebellion, and his own troops ill-paid and ill-governed, were mutinous and disobedient. His chief commanders yielded him little more than nominal allegiance, and receiving their pay in assignments upon impoverished and exhausted districts, they aggravated the discontent of the people, and drained the resources of the state by their oppression and extortion. Converting their commands into a plea for pillage, they moved through the country at their pleasure, and levied contributions at will upon their sovereign's subjects, and dependants; or when these failed, carried their hands into the territory of the princes of Rajputana, and, under pretext of assisting one or other of the contending parties, plundered both friends and foes. To add to these sources of disorder, the mountaineers on the south and west of Malwa, the Bhils and Mhars, and the petty Hindu chiefs on the south and east of the same country, were committing unchecked ravages in retaliation for invaded rights, or disregarded claims. A weary contest was also in progress with the Rajputs of Kutchewara, whose prince, Jaysing, the Raja of Raghugerb, had been dispossessed by Sindhia of his patrimony, and at the head of a resolute troop of followers, laid waste the adjacent country, surprised Sindhia's forts, and occasionally worried his disciplined brigades. All these embarrassments paralysed Sindhia's power.

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.
1816.

Although he could not resist the temptation of mixing himself up in the intrigues that were so rife, and no doubt had sufficient nationality to desire their success, Sindhia was evidently aware of the danger of provoking the resentment of the British Government, and, in all probability, never entertained any settled purpose of exposing himself to its irresistible infliction. However incompatible with his secret practices, his professions of unwillingness to incur the displeasure of his allies were probably as sincere as they were earnest, and reiterated. His policy was naturally and excusably unfriendly,—but he saw the consequences of its prosecution too distinctly to defy them.

All intercourse with the court of Holkar had been suspended for several years, during which it had been

In the middle of 1812, the absence of Amir Khan in Jodhpur, whither he had been summoned by the Raja Man Sing, and the reduction by mutiny and desertion of the division in Jaypur under his colleague, Mohammed Shah Khan, encouraged Chand Sing, the commander of the Rajput forces to resume the offensive. Falling unexpectedly upon Mohammed Shah, he defeated that officer, and compelled him to seek refuge in Tonk, a town which belonged to Amir Khan, and where he had constructed a fort, named after him, Amir Gerh, to which Chand Sing laid siege. The siege was soon raised by the approach of another of Amir Khan's leaders, Raja Bahadur, and the troops of the Mohammedan captains having effected a junction, pursued the retreating Rajputs into the Jaypur territories, which they ravaged without mercy. Amir Khan soon after joined and took the command, and the

BOOK II. From Jodhpur, the Amir led his forces into the Sheka-
 CHAP. IV. wati country, where he levied contributions, and then
 1816. returned towards Jaypur. The administration of affairs
 was here, also, the object of dispute between two powerful

factions, at the head of one of which was the Purohit, or family priest of the Raja : his competitor for the ministry, and the nobles opposed to him, repaired to Amir Khan and encouraged him to advance to the capital. The minister, Manji Das, with Amir Khan's former opponent, Chand Sing, made a vigorous defence, and resolutely refused to purchase the Amir's retreat, and calling upon the Thakurs for their contingents, they collected a respectable force, and harassed the besiegers with repeated, and often successful, sallies. Irritated by their opposition, Amir Khan ordered a bombardment of the town, by which extensive injury was done to the besieged, and the shot reached even the palace of the Raja. Jagat Sing was now seriously alarmed, and was preparing to evacuate his capital, when his Rani, the daughter of Man Sing, of Jodhpur, availing herself of the connexion which had subsisted between her father and Amir Khan, sent an humble message to him to supplicate his forbearance. Not sorry, in all probability, to have a fair excuse for desisting from a siege in which success was distant, if not doubtful, Amir Khan retired from before Jaypur, and placed his troops in cantonments for the rains. The following season witnessed a repetition of the same course of predatory warfare ; but the operations of Amir Khan, with his principal division, were confined to the siege of Madhurajpur, a dependency of Jaypur. After several repulses in his attempts to carry the fort by storm, the siege was converted into a blockade, which had lasted for nine months, when the policy of the British Government interfered to put an end to the sufferings of Rajputana.

The state of affairs had come to a crisis. Central India presented a chaotic mass of social disorganization ; order was no where attempted, and the only semblance of substantial power that remained was exercised by roving armies, belonging to no one government, but controlling and distracting all. In Malwa, the troops of Sindhia and Holkar acted independently of their nominal masters ; and, provided with assignments on the revenues of the

provinces, in liquidation of their pay, employed them as an excuse for despoiling the agricultural and commercial classes of the products of their industry. Whatever scanty residue was spared by them, was gleaned by the dependents and tributaries of the state, armed to defend themselves from the extortionate demands of the prince, and his unsparing instruments, to lay waste the lands of which they had been despoiled, or to inflict retaliation upon the spoilers. The princes of Rajputana were in a still more helpless condition, and aggravated the evils of political humiliation by personal incompetency. The Raja of Udaypur, indolent and improvident, was bearded in his capital by military adventurers, and robbed of his domains by his own feudatory chiefs and clansmen. The Raja of Jodhpur, affecting idiocy, abandoned the reins of government to the hands of a dissolute prince, whose career was soon after cut short by the hand of an assassin. The Raja of Jaypur, a slave to an infatuated attachment to a Mohammedan dancing girl, preserved only a portion of his hereditary possessions, by the sufferance of Amir Khan. All three princes were objects of contempt to their nobles, who were split into factions, and struggled with their sovereign, or each other, for the miserable relics which the rapacity of the Mohammedans had left to be scrambled for. The country was everywhere a prey to numerous bands of merciless marauders, who, moving about in all directions, demanded the revenues which were due to the crown, and appropriated or wasted the resources from which the revenues were payable. Every vestige of regular and orderly government had disappeared, and a complete dissolution of the bonds of society must have ensued, had not the Government of British India obtained, by persevering representation and remonstrance, from the authorities in England, a reluctant and qualified permission to effect the extirpation of that part of the predatory system which consisted in the peculiar organization of the plunderers, termed Pindaris, as preliminary to the overthrow of the whole scheme of military depredation.

CHAPTER V.

Organized Plunderers termed Pindaris.— Their Origin.— Settlements on the Nerbudda.— Sindhia Shahi, and Holkar Shahi.— Their Leaders.— Cheetoo.— Karim.— Dost Mohammed.— Plan of their Incursions.— Cruelty and Brutality.— Annually plunder the Territories of the Nizam, the Peshwa, and the Raja of Berar.— Invade the British Territory.— Threaten Mirzapur.— Plunder the Masulipatam District.— Gantur.— The Northern Circars.— Their Parties surprised or overtaken.— Many killed.— Defects of a defensive System.— Offensive Operations contemplated by the former Government.— Policy of Lord Moira.— Total Suppression of the Predatory System.— Expected Conduct of the Mahratta Princes.— Proposal to annul the 8th Article of the Treaty with Sindhia, and renew an Alliance with Jaypur.— Prohibition of the Board of Control.— Modified.— Opposition in the Council.— Perseverance of the Governor-General.— Raja of Jaypur seeks the renewed Alliance.— Hesitates.— Conclusion of Treaty deferred.— Alliance with the Rajput Princes, with Amir Khan, with the Nawab of Bhopal.— Sindhia's Concurrence.— Co-operation of Nagpur.— Death of the Raja.— Succession of Apa Saheb.— Disposition of the Peshwa.— Regrets abandonment of Trimbak.— Requires the Charge of him.— Many Grievances.— Escape of Trimbak.— Insurrection raised by him.— Its Existence denied.— Secretly encouraged by the Peshwa.— Subsidiary Troops of Poona and Hyderabad in movement.— Insurgents dispersed at Maswar.— Lieutenant Warre murdered.— Insurgents routed in Kandesh.— Proceedings of the Resident.— Poona surrounded.— Peshwa promises to give up Trimbak and disband his Levies.— Proclamation of Rewards for Trimbak's apprehension.— Orders of the Government.— New Treaty.— Conditions.— Additional, Subsidiary Force.— Territorial Cessions.— Arrangements with the Gaekwar.

BOOK II. **T**HE freebooters, known as Pindaris, although frequently
 CHAP. V. acting in detached bodies, along with the predatory
 cohorts of the Mahratta and Patan leaders, had a loosely
 1816. independent activity of their own, and were little impli-

BOOK II. chiefs were leaders of much note. Cheetoo was by birth
 CHAP. V. a Jat, and, when a child, was purchased during a famine,
 1816. by a Pindari horseman, by whom he was brought up to a
 similar line of life. His patron rose to the command of
 the troop to which he belonged, and Cheetoo shared with
 his two sons, the elder and younger Rajan, the succession
 to his command. His superior abilities gave him the
 ascendancy, and brought him to the notice of Doulat Rao
 Sindhia, who, in 1803, conferred upon him a Jagir, and the
 title of Nawab. This did not prevent his being thrown
 into confinement by Sindhia, two years afterwards, and
 detained a prisoner for four years, until he paid a heavy
 ransom,¹ on which he was restored to favour, and to his
 Jagir. Sindhia also, subsequently enlarged the latter, con-
 ferring upon Cheetoo five districts lying east of Bhopal,
 commanding several of the fords of Nerbudda. Satwas,
 near Hindia, was Cheetoo's usual place of residence.

Karim Khan was by descent a Rohilla, the son of a Pin-
 lari leader; he early entered the service of Doulat Rao
 Sindhia, and was present at the battle of Kardla, where
 he collected much valuable booty. He, equally with Chee-
 too, obtained the title of Nawab from Sindhia, with some
 territorial assignments on the Nerbudda, in which situa-
 tion he had previously received grants of land from the
 Nawab of Bhopal. These possessions he extended by
 successful encroachments on the districts of both Sindhia
 and Holkar; and in 1805 had attained a degree of power,
 which only required consolidation to have become the
 foundation of a substantive state. It was not, however,
 Sindhia's policy to permit such a result; and having, by
 professions of friendship and esteem, induced Karim
 Khan to visit him, he caused the Pindari to be apprehend-
 ed, and confined him in the fortress of Gwalior. The camp
 of Karim was attacked and plundered, but his principal
 treasures were carried off by his aged mother, who found
 an asylum with Zalim Sing, of Kota. His districts were
 all sequestered, but his followers were kept together by
 Namdar Knan, his nephew, with others of his leaders;
 and they maintained themselves by the indiscriminate

¹ He is said to have paid conjointly with Karim, who had been also in
 durance, and was liberated at the same period, ten lakhs of rupees.—Papers
 Pindari war, p. 1.

plunder of Sindhia's territories. Karim Khan, after four years' detention, was liberated upon payment of a considerable sum of money; and an effort was made to efface the memory of his degradation by additional honours. The resentment of the Pindari was not to be thus appeased, and settling himself at Shujawalpur, he was soon in possession of lands more extensive than those which he had occupied before his captivity. In his measures of retaliation he was at first joined by Cheetoo, who had similar injuries to avenge, and their united force presented an array sufficiently formidable to awaken the serious apprehensions of the Mahratta chiefs.¹ Jaggu Bapu was sent against the Pindaris by Sindhia, and he and the Raja of Nagpur prevailed upon Cheetoo to separate himself from his colleague and rival. Karim thus deserted, was entirely defeated at Manohar Thana, and obliged to fly with a few followers to the camp of Amir Khan. He accompanied Amir Khan to Bampur, and was there placed, with his own consent, under seeming restraint with Ghafur Khan, with whom he remained three years longer, when he was allowed to depart.² During his absence, his Pindaris, under the same leaders as before, assisted Vizir Mohammed, of Bhopal, and Durjan Sal, of Kichi, in their hostilities against Sindhia, and committed unsparing havoc upon his estates. Their head quarters still continued in the neighbourhood of Bhopal, and Karim joined his adherents at Barsia, not long before the might of British India was arrayed for the destruction of his race.

¹ The Dasahara of 1811, was celebrated by an assemblage of not fewer than twenty-five thousand cavalry, besides several battalions of infantry. Prinsep, i. 45. Malcolm makes the number still more considerable, not less than sixty thousand horse. *Cen. India*, vol. 1, p. 456.

² Prinsep says the strong representations of Sindhia and Holkar, obliged the Pata to place Karim in a kind of restraint, in which he remained till 1816. According to Malcolm, i. 457, Amir Khan, pretending to recommend him to Tulasi Bai, made him over to Ghafur Khan, with whom he remained under confinement. Amir Khan's own story is, that Karim was placed with Ghafur Khan under nominal restraint with his own consent,—as being in safety, whilst his nephew and chief Sardars continued their depredations at the Amir's recommendation as the allies of Bhopal and Raghugherh, *Mem.* 409. That he was actually detained by Tulasi Bai, was, however, the notion entertained by the Government of Bengal, and the Residents with Sindhia and the Peshwa were instructed to prevail upon them to exert their influence with Holkar's court, to prevent Karim's release. The Resident at Delhi, also, was directed to communicate with the Bai's vakiels at that city, and urge the detention of the Pindari. Letter from Bengal, 15th Aug. 1811. *Papers Pindari war*, p. 14.

BOOK II.

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1817.

with iron: a few had matchlocks. When four or five thousand horse were thus assembled, the party marched to the destined scene of spoliation. The men carried no baggage of any description, and supported themselves and their horses on the grain and provision which they plundered, both horses and men being trained to endure great privation and fatigue. Correct information of the state of the country, and its means of defence having been previously obtained, the Pindaris moved with great secrecy and celerity to a central spot in the proposed sphere of action, where those best armed and mounted remained round the person of the leader, to constitute a rallying point, while the mass, in parties of a few hundred each, were despatched to sweep the country through a circle of many miles, and to bring in with the least delay, whatever valuables they could collect. The object of the incursion being pillage, not fighting, an encounter with regular troops was carefully shunned, and attempts to overcome prolonged resistance were seldom persisted in. Great loss of life therefore seldom attended the movements of the Pindaris, but their haste and rapacity tolerated no hesitation, and whoever was supposed to possess property, and was either unable or unwilling to satisfy the demands of the robbers, was put to the most cruel torture, and not unfrequently died under its infliction.¹ Their brutality was equal to their cruelty, and the women escaped violation and murder only by a voluntary death. What the Pindaris could not carry away they destroyed, and their movements were to be tracked by the flames of the villages which they had set on fire after they had rifled them. As soon as the plunder was brought in, and the party re-assembled, it moved off with the same secrecy and rapidity with which it had advanced, and all were safe within their

¹ One mode of torture, was to enclose a person's head in a bag of ashes or dust, and beat them on his face till he was suffocated; sometimes hot ashes were applied, and occasionally pounded chillies were mixed with them. A couple of heavy pestles or yokes were taken, and one being placed under the back of the prostrate victim, the other was crossed upon his breast, and a Pindari seated himself at either end, whilst a severe beating was inflicted. Boiling oil was sprinkled over the naked body, or straw was tied round the limbs and set on fire. Infants were torn from their mothers' arms, and thrown into wells, or dashed on the ground, and an instance is mentioned of a child having been tossed up into the air, and sabred as it was falling. Report of Commission. Papers 55.

BOOK II. accustomed haunts, before an adequate force could be
 CHAP. V. collected for pursuit.

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The depredations of the Pindaris were, during many years, confined to the neighbouring frontiers of the Nizam, the Peshwa, and the Raja of Berar, and in these they were in general annually repeated. The presence of the subsidiary force, although it could not prevent their ravages, yet limited the range of them in the dominions of the two former, but the territories of Nagpur, defended alone by the inactive and inefficient troops of the Raja, lay entirely at their mercy. Their depredations were carried with fearless audacity to the immediate precincts of Nagpur, and the Raja was repeatedly alarmed for his own safety, and that of his capital.¹ For a long time they refrained from trespassing upon the British boundary, but the desolation which they had spread in the adjacent countries, obliged them to seek for harvests more remote, and a confident belief that they would not be unsupported by the native potentates, and a persuasion that the British Government was unable or disinclined to oppose an energetic resistance to their inroads, induced them to make an experiment, how far they might venture to plunder its villages, and murder its subjects with impunity. In January, 1812, a body of Pindaris² belonging to the party of Dost Mohammed, penetrated through Bundelkhand and Rewa, plundered and destroyed a number of villages under British authority, and excited great alarm for the safety of Mirzapur, a town of great commercial wealth. They desisted from the attempt upon learning the advance of troops from Benares and Allahabad, and turning to the south, passed through South Behar, into the province of Sirguja, a dependency of Nagpur, whence they safely reached their homes, with such an amount of booty, as to hold out an irresistible temptation to repeat the foray. Extensive mischief was inflicted, many lives were lost, and a general feeling of terror pervaded the population of the province of Bahar.

¹ In November, 1811, the main body of the Pindaris estimated at five thousand horse, and drawn up in regular order, was visible from the British Residency. Papers, 26. On that occasion they set fire to one quarter of Nagpur. Papers 2.

² The number was variously computed from one thousand two hundred to twelve thousand. Letter from Bengal, 25th March, 1812. Papers 9.

The complete success of their incursion encouraged the Pindaris to project its early repetition. Reports of their design were received by the Government of Bengal, divisions of troops were arrayed in such positions as were thought likely to cover the frontier, but it was impossible to station detachments along the whole line from the limits of Bundelkhand to the Gulph of Cambay, and the constitution of regular troops unfitted them for competing with the unincumbered, rapid, and desultory movements of the Pindari horse. The Government of Bengal, however, had not yet fully learned the futility of the precautionary measures which had been adopted, and, in their communications to the Court of Directors, expressed themselves relieved from the apprehension of a second Pindari raid, on any part of the frontier, from Bundelkhand to Cuttack.¹ The arrangements were not wholly nugatory, as the attempt to ravage the Bengal frontier was not renewed in the following season; although this was partly attributable to the diversion of the operations of the plunderers in other directions. A party under Chettoo, between four and five thousand in number, proceeded westward, and laid waste the dependencies of Surat, while other bodies burst into the dominions of the Nizam and the Peshwa, and menaced the districts subject to the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras. Their depredations were, however, arrested by their own dissensions, ending in actual hostilities between Chettoo and the Sirdars of Karim Khan, in which the former was defeated and obliged to take shelter in Ujjain.

The domestic quarrels of the Pindaris having been composed, and the vigilance of the British Government somewhat intermitted, they again made their appearance within the British frontier. At the end of 1815, they advanced southwards to the banks of the Krishna, and entered the confines of the district of Masulipatam, whence they carried off a valuable booty. Early in March of the following year, a still more formidable body, estimated to be five thousand strong,² penetrated to Ganjar, Cuddapa,

¹ Letter from Bengal, 16th November, 1812. Papers Pindari war, p. 15.

² These seem to have belonged to one of three divisions which had at this time invaded the territories of the Nizam; one body was reported to be ten thousand strong, the two others six thousand each. Papers Pindari war, p. 43.

BOOK II. unexpectedly upon the freebooters, in the vicinity of
 CHAP. V. Bedor. The division reached the Pindari camp before
 1816. daylight, on the 15th of January, and a volley was the first
 intimation which the plunderers had of their approach :
 — an immediate and total rout ensued : many were killed,
 and a thousand of their best horses were captured.

A division from the Durra of Cheetoo had about the same time passed to the westward of the British posts, and, following the road by Burhanpur, had penetrated through the passes into Berar, proceeding thence between Jalna and Aurangabad towards Ahmedabad. Unluckily for the invaders, it happened that Major Lushington, with the 4th Madras Cavalry, was on his return from the Peshwa's country to the cantonments at Jalna, and on the 25th of December, heard on his arrival at Pipalwar, of their presence at Logam. He moved in pursuit of them at one in the morning of the 26th. The Pindaris had been repulsed from Logam, and had retreated towards the east, whither they were followed by the cavalry. After a rapid march of above fifty miles, Major Lushington came upon them at one P.M., when they were engaged in preparing their noon-day meal. They were about three thousand strong, but attempted little opposition. They fled in all directions, and were pursued for ten miles, when the fatigue which the troops had undergone compelled their recall. About two hundred of the best mounted of the Pindaris escaped, but the main body was completely broken up with the loss of between seven and eight hundred killed, and of a still greater number of their horses captured. The only casualty on the side of the British was that of an officer, Captain Drake, who was run through by a spear.¹ The transactions that now took place put an end for ever to Pindari incursions.

The impossibility of permanently guarding against the predatory inroads of the Pindaris, by a system purely defensive, had not escaped the observation of the late Governor-General, and in his address to the Secret Committee of the 2nd of October, 1812, the Government of Bengal distinctly declared their conviction that "the arrangements and measures of defence which they had adopted were merely palliatives," and that "they antici-

¹ See official despatches, *Asiatic Journal*, December, 1816, pp. 186, 120.

pated the necessity, at some future time, of undertaking a system of military and political operations calculated to strike at the root of this great and increasing evil."¹ As, however, they considered that any system of measures adapted to the effectual attainment of the object must be of a complicated and extensive nature, they could not be undertaken without much previous preparation, and the subject was therefore left for further inquiry and deliberation. The evil could not be denied, but the Board of Control clung to the notion that it might be checked by defensive arrangements, and, in a letter from the Secret Committee, the Government of Bengal was prohibited "from engaging in plans of general confederacy and offensive operations against the Pindaris, either with a view to their utter extirpation, or in participation of an apprehended danger."²

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The sagacity of the Governor-General, the unusual knowledge of the condition of India which he had brought with him, the minuteness of the information with which he was furnished by the Residents at the native courts, comprehending some of the ablest men who have done credit to the Company's service, and the roundness of the advice which he received from competent authorities, early enabled him to take a just and comprehensive view of the policy which the circumstances of the time imperiously demanded.³ The tranquillisation of Central India, the restoration of order and good government in Malwa and Rajputana were considered by the Earl of Moira to be as indispensable for the happiness and prosperity of the native states as for the safety and advantage of the British possessions. Neither were attainable as long as the predatory system subsisted, as long as Patan and Pindari were suffered to create an unnatural state of anarchy and disorder, in which the peaceable and industrious members of society were the prey of lawless hordes of plunderers, who grew up and gathered vigour amidst the chaos which they caused and perpetuated. As affecting British interests alone the evil

¹ Papers Pindari war, p. 14.

² Secret letter to Bengal, 29th September, 1815. Papers Pindari war, p. 41.

³ See the opinions of Mr. (now Lord) Metcalfe, the resident at Delhi, and of Mr. (now Sir Richard) Jenkins, resident at Nagpur. Commons Report, 1832. Political Appendix, 229.

BOOK II. state of India, measuring the present by the past, and
 CHAP. V. greatly overrating the opposition to be overcome, apprehensive of financial embarrassments, and reluctant to encounter the vulgar clamour raised in Parliament against the extension of the British empire in India, the President of the Board of Control, Mr. Canning, however eminent as a statesman in the political world of the West, exhibited a singular want of knowledge and foresight in prescribing the line of conduct to be followed for the regulation of the interests of the East, and sought to enforce upon the Governor-General a feeble and temporising policy wholly unworthy of the British character, incompatible with the propriety of the British Indian Empire, and fatal to the existence of the native powers. It was asserted that no danger was to be apprehended from the actual condition of Central India, but much from any attempt to effect its amelioration. That such interference would provoke a combination which had yet no existence except in the

solidated at the close of the last Maratta war, should be maintained with as little change as could be avoided." Exhibiting strange ignorance of the alterations which ten years had wrought in the relative situations of the existing states, to which the system of 1803, always objectionable, was now wholly inapplicable.

Mr. Canning had, in consequence of the death of the Earl of Buckinghamsire, in the year 1816, been placed at the head of the India Board, and it became the duty of this distinguished statesman to prescribe the course which should be pursued in this important and perplexing crisis of affairs. Letter from B. S. Jones Esq., Commons Report, 1832. Appendix Page 272. It was fortunate that the course so prescribed was not followed; some of the instructions are the following: "We are unwilling to incur the risk of a general war, for the uncertain purpose of extirpating the Pindaris. Extended political and military combinations we cannot at the present moment sanction or approve." There was not the least risk of a general war, nor was there any uncertainty as to the extirpation of the Pindaris. "We do not think it improbable that even from Sindhia you may derive assistance in enterprises against separate bodies of the Pindaris, who may have committed depredations on our territories." A most improbable supposition,—and a most unworthy policy to require Sindhia's aid for the protection of the British territories. The suggestion was also thrown out in the face of "information recently received as to the suspicious behaviour of certain of the Marhatta chieftains, and the daring movements of the Pindaris." The result is the announcement of expectations signally falsified by events. "We entertain a strong hope that the dangers which arise from both these causes, and which must perhaps always exist, in a greater or less degree, may, by a judicious management of our existing relations, be prevented from coming upon us in any very formidable force, while, on the other hand, any attempt at this moment, to establish a new system of policy, tending to a wider diffusion of our power, must necessarily interfere with these economical regulations, which it is more than ever incumbent upon us to recommend, as indispensable to the maintenance of our present ascendancy, and by exciting the jealousy and suspicion of other states, may too probably produce or mature those very projects of hostile confederacy which constitute the chief object of your apprehension."—Commons Report, App. Vol. p. 232.

the orders from home implied a virtual prohibition of the alliance, yet, as in a previous despatch it had been remarked, that "while the justice of dissolving the alliance with Jaypur was questionable, its impolicy had been clearly demonstrated by the injury done to the country by Amir Khan and the Pindaris; and the Government," it was added, "would have seen the necessity of providing against the depredations of both;" it was argued by the Governor-General that it had not been the intention of the Secret Committee, in their late injunctions, to have positively interdicted an arrangement, the policy and justice of which were still undeniable.¹ The negotiation, however, although the first commenced, was one of the last concluded, the Raja being deterred from an earlier termination by the alternate tone of menace and conciliation adopted by Sindhia and Amir Khan, who led him to fear, that if he persisted in the negotiation, they would attack him immediately with all their forces, and to hope that they would cease to harass his country, if he abstained from an English connexion. There was, also, a strong party in his court opposed to the alliance, as they apprehended it would give the Raja the means of resisting their encroachments upon his authority and resources, and recovering from them the lands they had taken advantage of his distress to usurp. There were, also, difficulties as to the amount of the subsidy to be paid, and the degree of interference to be exercised; and after repeated interruption, the negotiation was not brought to a close until active hostilities had ceased, and the supremacy of the British was placed beyond dispute.

The example set by Jaypur was followed by the Rajas of Udaypur and Jodhpur; envoys were sent by them to Delhi, and negotiations set on foot towards the end of 1817, which, with little delay, terminated in treaties of alliance. The Raj Rana of Kota also pledged his unreserved assent to whatever terms the British Government should impose, and the Raja of Bundi pleaded his former services as giving him a claim to British protection. A

¹ The injunction against making any new treaty without previous sanction, "was not issued by the Court of Directors, but by the Board of Control through the Secret Committee."—Mr. JAMES CLAPHAM'S REPORT, Vol. App. 234, note.

to Sindhia, "what, if we are destroyed, will become of you?"—and it was with much uneasiness that the Maharajah looked forward to the approaching storm, and with extreme mortification and annoyance that he found himself compelled to abandon adherents who, notwithstanding their occasional disobedience, were looked upon by him as an essential part of his military strength. Many of his most distinguished officers were avowed friends of the Pindari leaders, and were impressed with a belief that, if supported with vigour, they might defy the English. There were some weak enough to put faith in the vaunts of the Pindaris themselves, that they would easily baffle and exhaust the English troops,—that they would far outdo what Jeswant Rao Holkar had been able to achieve; and that at the head of fifty thousand horse, they would carry fire and sword to the environs of Calcutta. Sindhia was not misled by such rhodomontade; he knew his own weakness and the strength of the British too well to hazard a rupture; and when called upon to explain the countenance that he had shown in his camp to the Pindaris, he denied all connexion with them, and declared it to be his intention to inflict upon them condign punishment.—When apprised that this would be undertaken by the British Government, he professed himself entirely satisfied with the determination, and willing to co-operate in any manner which should be required. The sincerity of Sindhia's professions might be questionable, but his public disavowal of all connexion with the Pindaris was calculated to diminish their confidence and weaken their power, and to remove one of the obstacles which had been supposed to impede the execution of the Governor-General's projects. It was equally improbable, whatever might be their real sentiments, that the Raja of Nagpur, or the Peshwa, would take part with the Pindaris.

For some time after his elevation to the Regency of Nagpur, Apa Sahib, apprehensive of the intrigues of the party opposed to his nomination, found it necessary to throw himself unreservedly upon the support of his new allies. The troops stipulated for by the subsidiary treaty were cantoned in the vicinity of the capital, in July, and Apa Sahib immediately removed his residence close to their lines, leaving the palace and the person of the Raja

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BOOK II. in the keeping of his opponents. As the latter was the
 CHAP. V. chief source of their ability to thwart Apa Saheb's ad-
 1816. ministration, the titular authority of the Raja being em-
 ployed to contravene the acts of the Regent, Apa Saheb
 was instigated to rid himself the impediment, and agents
 were speedily found to effect its removal. On the morn-
 ing of the 1st of February, 1817, the Raja Parswaja
 Bhonsla was found dead in his bed. No marks of violence
 were perceptible; and as his health was always precarious
 and constitution infirm, it was not impossible that his
 sudden demise was to be attributed to natural causes.
 Some vague reports of foul practice reached the ears of
 the Resident, but they were not traceable to any authentic
 source, and resting apparently on no solid foundation, were
 to be classed with the popular calumnies which are the
 ordinary concomitants in India of the decease of a person
 of rank. Apa Saheb was at the time absent from Nagpur,
 and as nothing transpired to implicate him in the transac-
 tion, he was acknowledged, in virtue of his hereditary
 rights, Raja of Nagpur. The interests of the Raja were
 somewhat different from those of the Regent, but the
 ascendancy which had been established at Nagpur, the
 professions, and, for a season, the conduct of Apa Saheb
 afforded no grounds for apprehending that he would fall
 off from the alliance to which he probably was indebted
 for his life, and certainly for his succession to the
 throne.

Less confidence was to be placed in the disposition of
 the Peshwa, but the occurrences which had embittered his
 animosity had also diminished his power to do mischief.
 A course of restless and unavailing dissension had led to
 the commission of acts which were regarded as those of an
 enemy, and had ended in the still further reduction of his
 political consequence. Scarcely had he relinquished
 Trimbak to the British officers, when he repented of
 his acquiescence, and earnestly solicited that the culprit
 should be restored to him. He declared that he had
 given him up only in the belief that he was to undergo a
 public trial, and that if convicted of the murder of the
 Sastri, he was to be replaced in the Peshwa's hands for
 punishment. As it was, great injustice was done to Trim-
 bak, who was cast into confinement, without any proof of

his criminality, and great disgrace was inflicted upon the Peshwa in the privation of that right which he possessed in virtue of his sovereign authority of awarding the punishment due to the offences of his own subjects. His representations to this effect were unceasing; the incarceration of Trimbak in a foreign prison was, he urged, a perpetual indignity, and his sense of the dishonour was the more keen, as it was inflicted by his friends. He was also subjected to serious pecuniary injury, for his principal treasures were entrusted to Trimbak's care, and no other person knew where they were concealed. He professed himself willing to adopt any arrangements for Trimbak's security, that the Resident should dictate, but declared that unless he was confined to his charge, his life would be passed in misery and mortification. For a time, his suit was preferred in friendly and conciliatory language; but he at length changed his tone and accompanied his application with the representation of various grievances, some of which he ascribed to the injustice of the Government, some to the personal unfriendliness of the Resident. His claims on the Gaekwar and Nizam were unadjusted. He had been obliged to subsidise a larger force than was originally proposed; and he had ceded territory even beyond what was demanded, yet Kattiwar, which, according to treaty, was to have been restored, was still retained, and its restoration was saddled with unwarrantable conditions. The subsidiary force stationed near Poona, was about to be removed to a post where it would block up the only bridge by which he could cross the river, and would do mischief to his Mango groves. Vexatious propositions were continually submitted to him affecting the customs forming part of his revenues. The Resident was also constantly annoying him about the Southern Jagirdars, and had prevented him on one occasion from going to Poona from Pandrapur. These complaints were partly frivolous, partly unfounded, but they expressed the feelings which had grown up in Baji Rao's heart against his allies. More important intimations of the same purport were afforded by the activity of the secret communications carried on with Nagpur and Gwalior, and by the orders issued to Bapu Gokla, and others of his Sirdars, to levy additional troops.

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BOOK II. While these discussions were pending, they received
 CHAP. V. augmented interest from the escape of Trimbak from his
 1816. imprisonment on the evening of the 2nd of September, 1816. He had been detained in the Fort of Thanna, near Bombay, which was garrisoned by Europeans. He had been allowed to take exercise on the ramparts for an hour or two in the afternoon, and it was remembered, after his flight, that latterly a groom in the service of one of the officers was accustomed to bring his master's horse near the same place, and as he walked the animal backwards and forwards, to sing Mahratta songs, the language of which was unintelligible to the sentries. By this channel Trimbak was apprised of the device he was to adopt, and the facilities provided for his escape. The privy of his residence adjoined a stable, and a hole had been cut through the wall of the latter. On a dark and rainy night, which concealed his person from the view of the sentinel who attended him, Trimbak contrived to pass unobserved into the stable, and having thrown off his dress, and placed a basket on his head, as if he were a common labourer, he walked unquestioned through the gateway out of the fort. When the alarm was given, he was nowhere to be found. To mislead his pursuers a rope was fastened to a gun as if he had thus lowered himself from the rampart. The tide was low, and the narrow channel which separates Salsette from the main land being fordable, Trimbak waded through the water, and found upon the bank a party of horsemen waiting to receive him. He fled up the Pipri Ghat to the south of Nasik.

As soon as the Resident was informed of the flight of Trimbak, he communicated the circumstance to the Peshwa, and called upon him to evince his fidelity to the British alliance, and his immunity from all suspicion of connivance by promulgating the most positive and stringent orders for the apprehension of the fugitive. Baji Rao protested his ignorance of any project for Trimbak's liberation, or any concern whatever in its accomplishment, and professed his readiness to take the requisite steps for his arrest, expressing his hope, that in the event of his being recovered, he would not be treated with severity, and would be eventually placed in his charge. No hopes were held out that the latter expectation would be

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 chap. v. secret interviews had taken place between the Peshwa and
 his favorite, that considerable supplies of money had been
 clandestinely conveyed to him, and that the military and
 fiscal authorities in general identified the partisans of
 Trimbak with the troops of the Peshwa. Thus fostered,
 the insurrection was rapidly gaining head, and from fifteen
 to twenty thousand men were assembled under Trimbak
 and his associates, in different parts of the country, and
 on the borders of the territory of the Nizam. The levy
 of forces on behalf of the Peshwa also continued with
 augmented activity; his strongest fortresses were placed
 in a condition to resist an attack, and his principal trea-
 sure was moved from Poona to places of greater security.
 It had become a question of peace or war, but Biji Rao
 still protested his fidelity and attachment to the British
 alliance, offered to acquit himself by oath of any inter-
 course with Trimbak, and declared his readiness, if any
 insurrection did exist, to act vigorously in concert with
 the Resident for its suppression. Referring to Calcutta
 for the course of proceeding to be adopted towards the
 Peshwa, Mr. Elphinstone set seriously to work to put down
 the rising before it had attained a more menacing aspect,
 and before the mischief had spread to the adjacent coun-
 tries. The principal part of the Poona troops which had
 marched to the frontier to defend it against the inroads of
 the Pindaris was recalled, and the subsidiary force of
 Hyderabad was instructed to move to the confines of the
 Peshwa's territories, and advance into Kandesh. The
 insurgents were collected chiefly in two large masses—
 one at Maswar, a few miles west of Pundrapur, commanded
 by Trimbak's brother-in-law, Jado Rao,—the latter by
 Godaji Danglia, a nephew of Trimbak,—in Kandesh.
 Each was estimated at from four to five thousand strong:
 there were also a number of smaller parties preparing to
 join one or other of these divisions; and the party in the
 south were endeavouring to march northwards to effect a
 junction with the insurgents in Kandesh, as soon as they
 should have concentrated their force. In this latter pro-
 ject the insurgents were frustrated by the movements of
 Colonel Smith, who advanced to Maswar early in February,
 and dislodged them. They fled to the eastward, were

pursued for a considerable distance, and partly dispersed. Colonel Smith then marched to Poona, leaving Colonel Wilson with six companies of his Majesty's 65th regiment and three battalions of Native Infantry, at Ranjangaon, near Scroor, while a division under Colonel Milnes was stationed at Pipalgaon, on the Godaveri. On the Hyderabad side, Major Macdowall advanced to Tuljapur, while a detachment from Jalna moved to the west into Kandesh. The remainder of the southern party, having rallied to the number of three thousand five hundred, of whom above two thousand were well mounted, resumed their northern route in the beginning of April. On their march, a troop of Pindaris attached to the body fell in with Lieutenant Dacre, of the Madras Artillery, with a small escort, and robbed and murdered him and his attendants. The barbarity was not unrequited. Information of their movements being received by Colonel Wilson, he detached Major Smith, with six hundred infantry, to intercept their flight. Although too late to accomplish this object, Major Smith came upon the tract of the party moving from the Bhima, by Toka, towards the Godaveri, and pursued them with unremitting activity. After a march of one hundred and fifty miles in five days, he came upon the insurgents at Patri, above the ghats of Kandesh, at daybreak of the 17th April, just as they were mounting to resume their route. After firing a volley, the troops charged and put the enemy to the rout, leaving seventy dead on the field, with a quantity of arms and a number of their horses. After several attempts to rally, which were defeated, the insurgents fled, and such of their horse as kept together, crossed the Godaveri towards Nasik, where they joined Godaji Danglia. Another division going northwards, more to the west, fell in with Colonel Milnes, and although they also escaped into Kandesh, it was not without a material diminution of their numbers. In the mean time, however, the force to which they were conveying an accession of strength, was so completely disabled, that the junction of their friends was insufficient to retrieve the disaster. Captain Davies, with eight hundred of the Nizam's reformed horse, and a party of foot, had been despatched to Kammin, twenty miles west of Aurangabad, on the evening of the 19th April. Having ascertained on the 22nd, that Godaji

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BOOK II. foreign powers, he was now required to promise that he
 CHAP. V. would neither maintain any agents at other courts nor
 admit their agents at Poona; and that he would hold no
 1817. communication whatever with foreign princes, except
 through the British Resident. With respect to the
 Gackwar, the Peshwa was required to renounce all future
 claims, and accept as a commutation for the past, an
 annual payment of four lakhs of rupees. For a further
 annual sum of four lakhs and a half he was to grant to
 the Gackwar, the perpetual lease of Ahmedabad.

The treaty of Bassein had stipulated that the Peshwa
 should maintain at all times a contingent force of five
 thousand horse and three thousand foot, to act with the
 subsidiary force. This article was annulled, and in lieu of
 it, it was required that the Peshwa should place at the
 disposal of the British Government sufficient funds for
 the payment of a body of troops of the like amount, viz.,
 five thousand cavalry and three thousand infantry; the
 funds to be provided by the cession of territories in the
 Dekhin, and of the tribute of Kattiwar, to the extent of
 a net revenue of thirty-four lakhs of rupees a year. He
 was further expected to cede in perpetual sovereignty the
 fort of Ahmednagar, all his rights, interests, or preten-
 sions, feudal, territorial or pecuniary in Bundelkhand,
 including Sagar, Jhans, and the possessions of Rana
 Govind Rao; all the rights and territories in Malwa,
 secured to him by the treaty of Sirji Anjengaum, and
 generally all rights and pretensions of every denomination
 which he might possess in the country to the north of
 the river Nerbudda; and he was to pledge himself never
 more to interfere in the affairs of Hindustan.¹

These were undoubtedly hard terms, but the Peshwa,
 by his inveterate enmity to the British name and power,
 and the treachery with which, while professing a faithful
 adherence to the terms of the treaty of Bassein, he had
 violated its most essential conditions, labouring in secret
 to re-unite the separated members of the Mahratta con-
 federacy and direct their combination against his allies;
 and by the gross manner in which he had disregarded the

¹ Treaty with the Peshwa, 13th June, 1817.—Collection of Treaties, 27th
 May, 1814, p. 60; and the observations of the Governor General on the several
 articles.—Papers, Mahratta war, p. 160.

law of nations and the guarantee of the British Government, in sanctioning, if not perpetrating, the murder of the Gaekwar's ambassador; subjected him justly to heavy penalties. In some respects, also, their severity was less than it appeared to be, and they were levelled against the Peshwa's political pretensions rather than against his real power or authority. His lands in Malwa, and his claims on the chiefs of Bundelkhand, for instance, had long ceased to be of any pecuniary value, or to bring him any accession of political importance, and the acknowledgment of his supremacy, occasionally professed by the individual occupants, was unaccompanied by any substantial tokens of obedience. The limitation of his claims on the Gaekwar, involving a guarantee of his realisation of as large a sum as he was likely ever to receive regularly without British intermediation, was likely to prove a beneficial arrangement to him, and if any loss attended it, he had little right to complain of being thus permitted to compound for his infraction of both moral and national law, by his participation in the guilt of Gangadhar's assassination. As far as these stipulations were concerned, therefore, he suffered little diminution of revenue or loss of real power. The additional amount of the subsidiary force, and the sequestration of lands for its payment, were more serious deductions from his revenue and from his authority, but they were regarded by him as less intolerable than those stipulations which annihilated his hopes of regaining his place as head of the Mahratta confederacy, and prohibited him from plunging into the dark and dangerous intercourse in which his genius delighted; and such was the tenacity with which he adhered to his design, such the inveteracy of his animosity against the British, that rigorous as were the conditions of the new treaty, and essentially as they impaired both the Peshwa's credit and power, it would hardly have been compatible with the safety of the British interests in India, to have imposed milder terms. It would have been an encouragement to Baji Rao to persevere in his hostile projects, to have left him the undiminished capability, as well as the unretracted purpose of undermining and subverting British ascendancy.

The terms to which the Peshwa's assent was demanded

The great advantages accruing to the *Golkar* from the treaty of Poona, and the additional military obligations which it imposed upon his allies, were considered to require a revision of the engagements subsisting with that prince, so as to secure the whole of the Kattiwar collections to the British Government, in order to provide for an augmentation of the subsidiary force. Although, not questioning the general expediency of the arrangements, the government of Baroda objected to the proposed conditions, and the conclusion of the treaty did not take place till after the war.

CHAPTER VI.

Plan and Purposes of the Campaign of 1817-18.—Disposition of British Forces—in Hindustan.—Grand Army.—Centre.—Right Division.—Left Division.—Subordinate Detachments.—Reserve.—Army of the Dekhin.—First Division.—Second, or Hyderabad.—Third.—Fourth, or Poona.—Fifth.—Reserve.—Events at Poona.—The Peshwa's Discontent.—Poona Division takes the Field.—Force left in Cantonments withdrawn to Kirki.—Menacing Appearances.—Explanation demanded.—Peshwa's Ultimatum.—The Residency destroyed.—Battle of Kirki.—Peshwa defeated.—British Officers seized by Marauding Parties.—The Vaughans murdered.—Return of General Smith to Poona.—Flight of the Peshwa.—Poona occupied.—Advance of the Third and Fifth Divisions across the Nerbudda.—Pindaris driven from their haunts.—Union of the First and Third Divisions under Sir T. Hislop, near Ujayin.—Conduct of Sindhia.—Advance of the Centre and Right Divisions of the Army of Hindustan towards Gwalior.—Treaty with Sindhia.—Ravages of Cholera in the Centre Division.—Change of Position.—Disappearance of the Disease.—Pindaris cut off from Gwalior.—Fly towards Kotah.—Overtaken by General Marshall.—Amir Khan intimidated.—Disbands his Troops.—Pindaris intercepted by General Donkin.—Return to the South.—Encountered by Colonel Adams.—Join Holkar's Army.—Chectoof flies to Jawad.—Diminished Strength of the Pindaris.

THE determination of the Governor-General to form effective military arrangements for the eradication of the Pindaris, and for the suppression of the predatory system, was formed in the close of 1816, but it was impracticable to carry his designs into operation until after the rainy season of the following year. The interval was busily occupied in assembling and organising the troops, and establishing controlling military and political authority in those quarters in which Lord Hastings was not personally present. The preparations were conducted as unostentatiously as possible, in order that the armies

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On the side of Hindustan, the Royal forces were arrayed in four principal divisions. The centre division, consisting of three regiments of cavalry, one of His Majesty's foot, and eight battalions of Native infantry, with detachments of artillery,¹ commanded by Major-General Brown, was assembled at Cawnpur. It was there joined on the 14th of September by the Marquis of Hastings, as Commander-in-chief. The right division, under

¹ The troops forming the centre were His Majesty's 21st, 22nd, and 23rd Regiments, 3rd and 7th regiments N. C., and the Governor-General's Foot Guards. His Majesty's 87th foot, and of Native Infantry the 2nd, 3rd, 12th, 13th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st, 32nd, 33rd, 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 41st, 42nd, 43rd, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, 51st, 52nd, 53rd, 54th, 55th, 56th, 57th, 58th, 59th, 60th, 61st, 62nd, 63rd, 64th, 65th, 66th, 67th, 68th, 69th, 70th, 71st, 72nd, 73rd, 74th, 75th, 76th, 77th, 78th, 79th, 80th, 81st, 82nd, 83rd, 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, 88th, 89th, 90th, 91st, 92nd, 93rd, 94th, 95th, 96th, 97th, 98th, 99th, and 100th. Detachment of horse and foot artillery, and 14 guns.

Major-General Donkin, was formed at Agra, and comprised two regiments of cavalry, one regiment of European, and three battalions of native infantry, with artillery.¹ The left division, commanded by Major-General Marshall, was in advance at Kalinjar, in Bundelkhand, and consisted of one regiment of native cavalry, two corps of irregular horse, and five battalions of infantry, with guns.² On the left of this division, and constituting subordinate portions of it, were two small bodies, one at Mirzapur, under Brigadier-General Hardyman, and another, under Brigadier-General Toome on the frontiers of South Behar;³ the duty of these two corps being the defence of the British confines in the south-west, the prevention of any sudden inroad through Rewa or Chota Nagpur, — and the line of frontier further south, through Sambhalpur and Cuttack, was considered to be sufficiently protected by the troops already stationed in those provinces. The fourth, or reserve division, commanded by Sir D. Ochterlony, was formed of one regiment Native cavalry, and two corps of irregular horse, one regiment of European, and five battalions of Native infantry.⁴ To each of the divisions were attached bodies of irregular horse and foot, the troops of several petty chiefs, who, by their tenure, or by treaty, were bound to furnish military contingents in time of war. In general they added little to the real strength of the army, but their presence was an indication of the extent of the British sway. The whole number of troops in this quarter amounted to above twenty-nine thousand foot, and fourteen thousand horse, with one hundred and forty guns, both horse and foot artillery. The centre division crossed the Jumna on the 26th of October, and took up a position on the Sindh river on the 6th of November, where it was equally ready

¹ His Majesty's 8th Dragoons, 1st N. C., Gardiner's horse, and contingents of the Raja of Bhurtur and Dholpur. His Majesty's 14th regt. N. I. 1st batt. 25th, 1st batt. 27th, 2nd batt. 12th, 15 guns.

² 4th N. C. 2nd and 3rd Boudla horse, N. I. 2nd batt. 26th, 1st batt. 14th, 1st batt. 1st, 1st batt. 26th, 1st batt. 7th, guns 21.

³ The 1st consisted of 4th N. C., His Majesty's 17th regiment, 2nd battalion, 8th N. I., 6 guns; Raja of Rewa's contingent horse. The second of His Majesty's 24th regiment, 2nd battalion of 4th N. I., 4 guns; Raja of Gungahm's horse.

⁴ 2nd N. C. two corps of Skinner's horse; His Majesty's 67th regiment N. I. 2nd battalion of the 19th, 1st of 25th, 2nd of 7th, 1st of 6th, 2nd of 8th, 22 guns; contingent horse and foot of Begum Sumroo, Fair Mohammed Khan, Ahmed Bahadur Khan, the Raja of Macheri, and the Raja of Patana.

BOOK II. when the first and third divisions were in position at
 CHAP. VI. Harda, not far from the southern bank of the Nerbudda.

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The fifth division had advanced to Hoseinabad; on the same river, not far from their right, by the 6th of the month. The second division had a position assigned to it in the neighbourhood of Akola, in order to protect the Berar frontier, and to support the troops in advance, as well as to observe Nagpur, where the disposition of the Raja had become an object of suspicion.¹ The fourth division; under General Smith, was directed to move towards Kandesh to defend the Peshwa's territory, or be at hand to act against him should his latent hostility break out into open violence. Its manifestation took place sooner than was anticipated.

The treaty of Poona had scarcely been signed by Baji Rao when he repented of the deed, and resumed with redoubled eagerness the intrigues in which he had previously been engaged, and his earnest endeavours to excite the Mahratta chiefs to give support to the Pindaris. At the same time, under pretence of acting in concert with the British in their movements against those marauders, he commenced an extraordinary levy of troops and large bodies of horse and foot were assembled in the vicinity of Poona by the end of October, the insolence of whose conduct was sufficiently expressive of their master's intentions. Active intrigues were also set on foot for the seduction of the subsidiary force, and bribes and menaces were employed to tempt the men from their allegiance.² Although these proceedings were well known

¹ Lord Hastings' Narrative, Papers, Mahratta War, 335.—Colonel Blacker says Doveton was directed to move his head-quarters to a position immediately in the rear of Mulkapore, either above or below the Berar Ghats, with the view and possible necessity of besieging Asirgerh.—p. 49.

² The Peshwa's emissaries began to tamper with the troops early in August; their practices were immediately reported by the men to their officers, and they were suffered to carry on the negotiations, which they did with such success, that the Peshwa fell into the snare. Large sums of money were distributed among them; a Jemadar of the 6th, who was admitted to an interview with Baji Rao and Gokla, a few days before the action at Kirki, was promised land, and titles if he could bring over his men, and received five thousand Rupees, which he transferred to his commanding officer. Very few were tempted to desert their colours by offers of this nature: some desertions took place, but they were of natives of the Konkan, whose homes were situated in places subject to the Peshwa or to Gokla, and who were intimidated by violence threatened, or, in some cases, offered to their families. There is no doubt that the Peshwa was fully persuaded that the desertion would be very general as soon as the action commenced, and that this impression powerfully contributed to lead him into so desperate and fatal a procedure.

to the Resident, yet, in order to avoid embarrassing the meditated operations against the Pindaris, and feeling confident reliance on the fidelity of the Sipahis, Mr. Elphinstone refrained from any exposure of the Peshwa's treacherous conduct, or from taking any steps, except those of general remonstrance, to counteract his projects. He allowed the main body of the subsidiary force, forming the fourth division, to march from its cantonments, and retained in the vicinity of Poona, no more than the portion usually stationed in the environs of the city. General Smith, however, upon his arrival on the confines of Kandesh, received advices of the threatening aspect of affairs at Poona, and the probable necessity of his return. He accordingly halted at Phultamba, on the Godavari, with an understanding that should his communications with the Residency be interrupted, he should march immediately on Poona.

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The force which had been left at Poona consisted of three battalions of Bombay infantry, under Colonel Burr, a battalion of the Poona brigade of the Peshwa's own troops officered by Europeans, under Major Ford, and two companies of Bengal Sipahis, forming the Resident's guard. The Poona brigade was quartered at Dapuri, a village a short distance on the west of Poona. The regular troops had formerly been cantoned on the east of the city, and were separated by it and by the Muta-Mula river from the Residency, which lay on the north-west of Poona, near the confluence of the Muta and the Mula rivers, the former coming from the north, the latter from the west, and both uniting off the north-west angle of the city. The position of the cantonments had long been regarded as objectionable, both in a military and political view. Situated on the opposite side of Poona, and inconveniently contiguous to the town, their communication with the Residency might easily be cut off; and they were exposed to any sudden hostile attack, as well as to the insidious influence of the population of the capital. It had been, therefore, for some time past, resolved to move the troops to Kirki, a village about two miles north of Poona, on the same side as the Residency; and although detached from the latter by the course of the Mula river, which ran between them, capable of ready communication with it by a

BOOK II. bridge over the stream. Dapuri, the station of the Poona
 CHAP. VI. brigade, being situated also on the same side of the city,
 1817. and not far in the rear of Kirki, communication with it
 was easy. Baji Rao, who was too sagacious not to under-
 stand the real motives of the change, had strenuously ob-
 jected to it; but this was an additional argument in its
 favour, and due preparations having been made, the bat-
 talions under Colonel Burr marched from the old station,
 and encamped at Kirki on the 1st of November. The
 force had been joined on the preceding evening by the
 Bombay European regiment, and by detachments of the
 65th regiment, and of Bombay artillery, on their march to
 join the 4th division. On the 5th of November, a light
 battalion, which had been ordered back to Seroor by Ge-
 neral Smith, marched upon Poona with a thousand of the
 auxiliary horse. Before their arrival the affair had been
 decided.

The intentions of the Peshwa to fall upon the Residency
 were very currently reported during the month of October,
 and an extensive feeling of alarm pervaded the Capital:
 many persons quitted Poona, and many more sent away
 their families and property: private intimations to the
 same effect, from individuals whose authority was unques-
 tionable, were received both by Mr. Elphinstone and some
 of his staff; but unwilling to precipitate a crisis, and
 doubting whether Baji Rao would have the courage to
 hazard so desperate an enterprise, the Resident deemed it
 advisable to take no public notice of the Peshwa's pro-
 ceedings until they were too notorious, and too menacing
 to be longer disregarded. A large army had been drawn
 up on the south of the City, and parties were thrown out
 towards the new cantonments, as if to cut off the com-
 munication between them and the Residency. Upon re-
 quiring to know the object of these movements, and
 insisting, that the advanced parties should be withdrawn,
 a confidential servant of the Peshwa, Witoji Naik, was
 deputed to the Residency with his master's ultimatum.
 The Peshwa, he said, having heard of the arrival of the
 reinforcements from Seroor, was determined to bring
 things to an early settlement; he desired, therefore, that
 the European regiment should resume its march, the
 native brigade be reduced to its usual strength, and the

cantonments removed to a place which he should point out. If these terms were not complied with, the Peshwa would leave Poona, and not return until they were assented to. The Resident replied that the march of the troops had been necessitated by the Peshwa's own preparations, but that there was no wish to act hostilely against him; and that if he would adhere to his engagements, and send off his forces to the frontier, to serve with the British troops, agreeably to the conditions of the alliance, he would still be regarded as a friend. If, on the contrary, his troops persisted in pressing upon the British position, they would be attacked. Within an hour after Witoji's return, large bodies of troops began to move towards the camp, and a battalion of Gokla's contingent had previously taken up ground within half a mile of the Residency, between it and the cantonments. The Resident, therefore, deemed it advisable to quit the former with his suite and escort, and fording the Mula, proceeded along its left bank to the bridge at Kirki, which he crossed, and joined the troops. Immediately upon his departure, the Mahrattas entered the Residency grounds, and plundered and set fire to the dwellings.

The Peshwa's army, computed to amount to ten thousand horse and as many foot, had been drawn up at the foot of the Ganes-khand hills, immediately on the north-west of the town, their left resting on the hills, their right on the Residency; an immense train of ordnance protected the centre. The Peshwa moved out to an elevation, the Parbati hill south of Poona, at some distance, but commanding a view of the field. The British force, consisting of infantry only, was less than three thousand strong: the ground in front of them, although broken by ravines, was not wholly unfavourable to the evolutions of cavalry; and a forward movement was calculated to lead them into the midst of large bodies of horse, against which they would act at a disadvantage. On the other hand, to await an attack was likely to produce a sense of discouragement among the troops, which, combined with the feelings that had possibly been engendered by the temptations to which their fidelity had been recently exposed, might be followed by dangerous desertion. To endeavour to avoid an engagement, and defend the

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The customary communications from Poona not having arrived, General Smith inferred that hostilities had broken out, and immediately prepared to retrace his steps. He marched from Phulthamba on the 6th of November, and arrived at Ahmednagar on the 8th. From thence his march was harassed by the Peshwa's horse, but no serious delay was occasioned, and he arrived at Poona on the 12th. On the 14th, the force was concentrated on a spot between the bridge of Kirki and the left bank of the united stream of the Muta-Mula, opposite to the Peshwa's army, which had taken up its position on the ground of the old cantonments. On the evening of the 16th, the army crossed the river in two principal divisions: the one on the right, under General Smith, at the confluence of the streams; the other on the left, commanded by Colonel Milnes, at the Yellura ford. The passage of the first was effected without opposition, the whole attention of the Mahrattas being directed against the second; but their resistance was fruitless, and both divisions were in readiness for a combined attack at daylight on the following morning. Their junction was effected; but on advancing towards the Peshwa's camp, it was found deserted. He had ridden off at two in the morning, and his troops had followed, carrying off their guns, but leaving their tents standing, and the greater part of their stores and ammunition on the field. A few Arabs only had been left to guard the capital; and as their expulsion would only have caused a needless waste of life, they were prevailed upon to retire. It was with some difficulty that the troops, incensed by the burning of the Residency, by which much of their property had been destroyed, and by the ignominious murder of the Vaughans, could be restrained from the plunder of Poona; but the arrangements adopted for the purpose proved successful, and the capital of the Mahrattas was quietly taken possession of in the course of the day. Hostilities were, however, far from their termination.¹ Baji Rao fled to Purandhar, and stimulated and supported by the courage and conduct of Gokla, still cherished hopes of baffling and tiring out his enemies and recovering his power.

At the time at which these transactions at Poona took

¹ Report from Brigadier General Lionel Smith.—Mahratta Papers, 125.

place, the several divisions were rapidly concentrating on the points to which they were directed. BOOK II.
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The third and fifth divisions of the Madras army crossed the Nerbudda early in November. The former was to have been followed by the first division, but advice of the transactions at Poonah having reached Sir Thomas Havelock, on the 11th of November, he thought it advisable to return to the southward; however, the third division continued on, and taking possession of the fort of Rindha, which had been temporarily ceded by Sindhia. Before he had proceeded many days on his route, Sir T. Havelock was excited by despatches from the Marquis of Hastings, urgently enforcing his adherence to the original plan of the campaign, and reporting his immediate march in a northerly direction. Accordingly, after making such arrangements as he thought to be required by the state of affairs at Poonah and Nagpur, the Commander-in-chief of the army of the Deccan, with the first division, retraced his steps to the Nerbudda, and again crossed the river on the 20th of November. In the mean time, Sir John Malcolm had traversed the districts chiefly dependent upon Chertea, and recovered possession of the places which the Pindaris had wrested from Sindhia and the Nairab of Bhopul. Crossing the Kistna into Malwa, he arrived at Asha on the 21st of November, and was in communication with the fifth division under Colonel Adams, who, after crossing the Nerbudda, on the 14th of November, had advanced on the road to Seronj, in which direction the Durra of Waseel Mahomed had retreated. At Raseen, a communication was opened with the left division of the grand army, which was at Beh on the 28th of November. These three corps were now, therefore, on the proposed line of co-operation, and, by their concurrent movements, had driven the Pindaris from their haunts, and compelled them to fly to the north and west. The country, by these means, was freed from these marauders, and the position of the British detachments served as a new base, upon which future operations were to rest. Accordingly, General Marshall, with the left division of the grand army, marched to Seronj, where he halted till the 7th of December. By the same date, Colonel Adams had reached Mandhar Thana, in the principality of Kota. The third division of the

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BOOK II. Dekhin army moved westerly, in the track of Cheetoo's
 CHAP. VI. Durra, of which it never lost sight, although unable to
 1817. come up with him. Upon arriving at Burgerb, on the
 3rd of December, Sir John Malcolm learned that the Pindaris had doubled to the south, and, having arrived at Mahidpur, were there encamped in the vicinity of Holkar's army, and under its protection. The combined forces of Holkar and Cheetoo being too formidable to be attacked by Sir John Malcom, with the detachment under his command, he drew off towards the south, and halted on the 11th of December, near Tajpur, to be at hand for the instructions of Sir Thomas Hislop, who was again marching rapidly towards him. The first division entered Malwa, on the road to Ujayin, on the 4th of December; Sir Thomas Hislop was at Sonkeir, and on the 7th at Unchode, whither he had previously detached a light division. On the 11th he was at Dattana-mattana, within eight miles of Sir J. Malcolm's camp, and not far from Ujayin. On the following day, the head-quarters of the army of the Dekhin and the first and third divisions marched past Ujayin, and crossing the Sipra at a ford opposite the north-west angle of the city, encamped on the left bank of the river. Directions had been despatched to Sir William G. Keir, commanding the force from Guzerat, to march in the same direction. The army was posted so as to command the approach of Ujayin from the north, and the road to Mahidpur, where lay Holkar's army, and the Cheetoo's Pindaris. It is necessary, however, now to advert to the movements of the army of Hindustan.

Notwithstanding the declarations of Sindhia, that he was as much the enemy of the Pindaris as the British Government, and was resolved to effect their extirpation himself, or unite with the British in so desirable an object, proofs of his insincerity were daily forthcoming, and evidences were multiplied of his being in friendly communication with all who were inimical to the British power. A compact had been entered into with Holkar's Government, having in view the acknowledgment of the Peshwa's supremacy, and a considerable sum of money, twenty-five lakhs of rupees, had been received from Baji Rao to enable Sindhia to move to his assistance. Several envoys from Nepal, with letters, and two of Sindhia's seals, were ar-

BOOK II. head-quarters on that river, at the Seonda Ghat, on the
 CHAP. VI. 7th of November. On the 8th of the same month, the
 1817. right division, commanded by General Donkin, took up the
 position designed for it on the Chambal. Each of these
 divisions was within two marches of Gwalior, when Sind-
 hia, isolated from all his best troops, which, under their
 refractory leaders were at a distance from their dis-
 regarded sovereign, and cut off from all communication
 with the Pindaris and the Peshwa, was wholly unable to
 oppose any resistance to so overwhelming a force. Con-
 scious of his helplessness, he laid aside all attempts at
 subterfuge, and signed the treaty which had been pre-
 sented for his acceptance.

By the engagement now entered into, Doulat Rao Sind-
 hia bound himself to employ his forces conjointly with
 those of the British Government in prosecuting operations
 against, not only the Pindaris, but all other bodies of asso-
 ciated freebooters, with the view of destroying and pre-
 venting the renewal of the predatory system in every part
 of India: to give no shelter or support to the Pindaris,
 but to seize the persons of their leaders and deliver them
 up to the British Government, and never to re-admit the
 Pindaris, or any predatory bands, into his dominions, nor
 allow any of his officers to countenance or support them.
 In order to define the precise extent of his co-operation,
 in addition to the general aid to be given by all his civil
 and military functionaries, Sindhia agreed to maintain a
 contingent of five thousand horse, to serve with the British
 troops, and under British command; and to have an English
 officer attached to each division of such troops as the
 channel of communication with the British commanding
 officer. The same officer was also to be the medium of
 issuing the pay of the contingent, in order to secure its
 being punctually discharged: the funds to be derived from
 the application to this purpose of the amount of the pen-
 sions paid to Sindhia and the members of his family or
 administration, by the British Government, and by the
 assignment to the latter of the tributes of Jodhpur Bundi
 and Kota for a term of two years. In furtherance of the
 military operations of the British against the Pindaris,
 Sindhia consented to yield to them the temporary occu-
 pation of his forts of Hindia and Asirgerh, to be restored

after the war. It was also declared that the eighth article of the treaty of 1805, was annulled, and that the British Government was at liberty to form engagements with the states of Udaypur, Jodhpur, Kota, and other substantive states on the left bank of the Chambal. All claims and rights of Sindhia over states and chiefs, clearly and indisputably dependent on or tributary to him, were not to be interfered with, and his established tributes from other states were to be guaranteed to him, but made payable through the British Government. In consideration of the Maharaja's being bound to treat as enemies, also, any states against which it might become necessary to wage war, either on account of its attacking one of the contracting parties, or aiding or protecting the Pindaris, the British Government promised him a liberal share of the spoil that should be reaped by success. This treaty was concluded on the 6th of November. The fulfilment of the stipulation respecting the contingent was delayed as long as it could be with decency, but rather from the difficulties thrown in the way by subordinate agents, than by Sindhia himself. The Maharaja, although deeply humiliated by his compulsory abandonment of those whom he had long regarded as his servants and dependants, and sincerely distressed by his complete isolation from the Peshwa, to whom he looked up with hereditary regard as the head of the Mahratta association, was too indolent, too good-natured, and too intelligent, not to recognise the immunities which the treaty conferred upon him, the preservation of his tributes, the assistance of the British in reducing his disobedient feudatories and officers to subjection, and his exemption from the turbulence, danger, and ruin in which his connexions with his countrymen might else have involved him.

The engagement with Sindhia had scarcely been concluded when the news of the Peshwa's treachery arrived. The ratification of the treaty was a fortunate occurrence for Sindhia, as it precluded him from listening to the advice of those counsellors who would have urged him to take up arms in the Peshwa's cause, and to which his natural prepossessions inclined him, although he was withheld by his prudence and apprehension. It was fortunate, also, for the British Government; for although the

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BOOK II. result was not doubtful, yet it might have been inconven-
 CHAP. VI. niently retarded, as the powerful force, which threatened
 1817. Gwalior, was scarcely in a condition to have accomplished
 the objects for which it had approached that city: it was
 decimated by disease.

The malady known by the name of spasmodic cholera, evacuations of acrid biliary matter, accompanied by spasmodic contractions of the abdominal muscles, and a prostration of strength, terminating frequently in the total exhaustion of the vital functions, had been known in India from the remotest periods, and had, at times, committed fearful ravages. Its effects, however, were in general, restricted to particular seasons and localities and were not so extensively diffused as to attract notice or excite alarm. In the middle of 1817, however, the disease assumed a new form, and became a widely spread and fatal epidemic. It made its first appearance in the eastern districts of Bengal, in May and June of that year, and after extending itself gradually along the north bank of the Ganges, through Tirhut to Ghazipur, it crossed the river, and passing through Rewa, fell with peculiar virulence upon the centre division of the grand army, in the first week of November. After creeping about insidiously for several days among the lower classes of the camp followers, and engaging little observation, it at once burst forth with irresistible violence, and by the 14th of the month had overspread every part of the camp. Although the casualties were most numerous amongst the followers of the camp and the native soldiery, the ravages of the disease were not confined to the natives, but extended to Europeans of every rank.¹ The appalling features of the malady were the suddenness of its accession, and the rapidity with which death ensued. No one felt himself safe for an hour, and yet, as there was no appearance of infection, the officers generally were active in assisting the medical establishment in administering medicines and

¹ Five officers and 143 men of the European force died in November.—Official return. According to Mr. Surgeon Corbyn, who was serving with the centre division, and whose plan of treatment was circulated to the army by the Marquis of Hastings, his Lordship was himself apprehensive of dying of the disease, and had given secret instructions to be buried in his tent, that his death might not add to the discouragement of the troops, or tempt the enemy to attack the division in its crippled state.—The Treatise on Epidemic Cholera, by F. Corbyn, surgeon on the Bengal establishment, Calcutta, 1832.

relief to the sick. The whole camp put on the character of an hospital;—a mournful silence succeeded to the animating notes of preparation which had hitherto resounded among the tents: in place of the brisk march of soldiers in the confidence of vigour, and in the pride of discipline, were to be seen continuous and slowly moving trains of downcast mourners, carrying their comrades to the funeral pyre, and expecting that their own turn would not be long delayed. Even this spectacle ceased;—the mortality became so great, that hands were insufficient to carry away the bodies, and they were tossed into the neighbouring ravines, or hastily committed to a superficial grave on the spots where the sick had expired. The survivors then took alarm and deserted the encampment in crowds: many bore with them the seeds of the malady, and the fields and roads for many miles round were strowed with the dead. Death and desertion were rapidly depopulating the camp, when, after a few days of unavailing struggle against the epidemic, it was determined to try the effects of a change of situation. The army accordingly retrograded in a south easterly direction, and after several intermediate halts, crossed the Betwa, and encamping upon its lofty and dry banks at Erich, was relieved from the pestilence. The disease disappeared.¹ During the week of its greatest malignity it was ascertained that seven hundred and sixty-four fighting men and eight thousand followers perished.

Whether it was in consequence of any secret intrigue at Sindhia's court, or their reluctance to believe that he was in earnest in abandoning their cause, the Pindari leaders Karim Khan and Wasil Mohammed, flying from the combined advance of the divisions under Colonel Adams and General Marshall, marched in the direction of Gwalior, trusting to find there a shelter and an ally. As soon as their project was known, measures were taken to defeat it,

¹ The disorder ceased to be Epidemic about the 23rd of November. A few cases of a similar nature occurred daily till the end of the month. There were 30 instances of it after the 6th of December. Mr. Jamieson is inclined to ascribe its disappearance not so much to the change of locality, as to the inaptitude of the disease to remain long in one place, a peculiarity which invariably characterized its future progress. In none of the camps which it afterwards visited, did it continue virulent for more than 13 or 15 days.—Report on the Epidemic Cholera-morbus in the Bengal Provinces, in the years 1817, 1818, and 1819, by Assistant-Surgeon J. Jamieson, Secretary to the Medical Board. Published by authority of the Board, Calcutta, 1820.

BOOK II. without giving umbrage to Sindhia by appearing to doubt
 CHAP. VI. his sincerity. A cavalry brigade, and a battalion of Native
 1817. infantry were detached from the centre division towards
 the Sindh, and they were followed, as soon as the restored
 health of the troops permitted, by the main body to the
 same river, but lower down on the Sonari ford, within
 twenty-eight miles of Gwalior. The advanced guard was
 thrown across the river, and by an inclination to the left,
 intercepted all communication on that line between
 Sindhia and the Pindaris. This movement, and the
 position of the second division on the Chambal in his
 rear, with the tidings which came from the south, com-
 pelled Doulat Rao to submit to his fate, and to exert
 himself for the formation of the contingent which he
 had engaged to furnish, and which was very tardily
 organized.

The forward movement of the advance of the centre
 division, under Colonel Philipot, had the effect of com-
 pelling Karim Khan and Wasil Mohammed to abandon the
 direct road to Gwalior, and turn off to the north west in
 the direction of Kota. They were in expectation of finding
 in the ruler of that country, or in Amir Khan, whose
 forces lay beyond it, protection if not aid. Zulim Sing, the
 ruler of Kota, had entered into a close alliance with the
 British Government, and he was little disposed to incur
 any risk in favour of a power which he had no longer
 cause to dread. He, therefore, posted troops so as to shut
 the passers into his country against the Pindaris, and they
 were thus obliged to gain admission by force. In their
 first attempt they were foiled, but they were successful in
 the second, and carried the Nim-Ghat near Ladana after a
 respectable resistance, which with their former discom-
 fiture retarded their progress and enabled their pursuers
 to close upon them from various quarters. The Pindari
 chiefs had been followed closely by General Marshall
 with the left division of the grand army. Upon receiving
 information of the route which they had taken, General
 Marshall quitted Secrag on the 8th of December, and with
 a light portion of his force reached Bijnan on the 13th,
 where he learned that the main body of the Pindaris was
 but twenty-two miles distant at Bichhal in Kota, on the
 other side of the Nim Ghat. He again moved in pursuit

on the night of the 13th, but owing to the badness of the roads did not reach the foot of the Ghat until two p.m., on the 14th. As soon as the Pindaris heard of the approach of the force, they moved off with their families and baggage, leaving one thousand horse to cover their retreat. The British detachment crossed the Ghat and came in sight of this body, which was charged by the cavalry under Colonel Newberry, and dispersed with some loss. The pursuit was resumed on the two following days to the Parlati river.

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In the meantime, General Donkin, with the right division, had quitted the Chambal, after leaving a guard at the fort of Dholpur, and, after a circuitous march, placed himself between the Pindaris and Amir Khan. At the same time, the reserve of the grand army advanced to the south of Jaypur; and General Ochterlony encamped in such a position as to separate the two principal divisions of the Khan's troops, who were thus intimidated into acquiescence in their being disbanded. A loan of money was made to Amir Khan to enable him to discharge their arrears, and an arrangement was authorised for reorganising a considerable portion of the force by taking it into British pay. By these means, Amir Khan and his chiefs were deprived of all excuse for longer delaying his ratification of the alliance with the British, and the annihilation of his battalions extinguished the hopes which the Pindaris had continued to cherish of the assistance of the Pathans.

The final settlement with Amir Khan being thus effected, General Donkin returned to the left bank of the Chambal, and crossed it at Ganak-Ghat, eight miles north of Kota, on the 13th of December. The route followed by the Pindaris in their flight from Bichi-tal, lay across the direction of General Donkin's march, not many miles to the north east; and information of their proximity reached him on his arrival at the river. Taking with him a light division, General Donkin advanced, by forced marches to Kalana on the western Sindh, where accounts of the affair at Bichi-tal were received, and it was ascertained that the Durra of Karim Khan was still in the neighbourhood, unconscious, apparently, of the approach of the detachment. Early on the 17th, the brigade came

BOOK II. up with the Pindaris, but the main body had fled, abandon-
 CHAP. VI. ing their baggage and their families under a small
 1817. party which immediately dispersed, leaving a quantity of property and Lal ki Begum, the wife of Kharim Khan, in the hands of the victors. A large party was also attacked and put to flight by Gardner's horse, but Karim, with his main force, finding his advance to the north-west frustrated, and hope of succour from Zalim Sing disappointed, turned back, and, passing between the divisions of Generals Donkin and Marshall, through the tract lying between the Sindh and Parbati rivers, trusted to make good his retreat to the south by Shirgerh and Gogal Chapra. He was again out-manœuvred, for although he avoided the division of General Marshall, which had advanced towards the direction of his retreat, he fell upon the line of Col. Adams's route, which had led by Gogal Chapra to Jhilwara on the Parbati, where he had arrived on the 16th of December. This compelled the Pindaris to change their course, and crossing the head of the column, they moved off to the south-west. They had purposely left behind every thing that could retard their flight: all those of the party, who were badly mounted and equipped, dispersed, and none but the most efficient cavalry remained with the leaders. The number of the Durra was reduced to little more than two thousand. As soon as Colonel Adams heard of their course, he despatched his cavalry under Major Clarke, who overtook and routed a party at Pipli. The main body, however, kept in advance, and reached Rajgerh Patan greatly dispirited and disunited, on the 21st. On the same day, Major Clarke rejoined Colonel Adams on his march to Ekkair, where he arrived on the 22nd, and was obliged by heavy rains to halt during the following day. A party of Pindaris, four hundred strong, was here heard of, descending the Tara Ghat, and was pursued and cut up by Captain Roberts with the 1st Rohilla horse. The fugitive Durras continuing their flight, returned after various divergent movements, to the upper course of the Chambal, which they crossed to join the remains of Holkar's army. Colonel Adams following hard upon their track, although greatly delayed by bad weather and insufficient supplies, reached Gangraur on the 6th of January, and halted there for some days to allow his troops to rest

after the fatigue which they had undergone ; the objects of his movements having been completely effected by the retreat of the remains of Karim and Wasil Mohammed's Durras to the south.

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The Pindari Cheetoo, although he had fallen in with Holkar's arm, and reinforced it with part of his followers, did not long remain in its vicinity. Interposing that force between him and his pursuers, he kept his principal party together in the country on the west bank of the Chambal in the upper part of its course, but the British detachments closing round him compelled him to shift his quarters. He returned towards the north, and during the latter days of December was encamped at Singoli, in a rugged country between Bundi and Kota, not more than twenty-five miles south-west from the town of Kota, the people of the country, whose sympathies were in general enlisted in favour of the Pindaris, providing him with supplies and information. He was not long unmolested. General Donkin, who still continued in the neighbourhood, secured the passes into Bundi, and advanced to the Gynta Ghat. Cheetoo was no longer within his reach. Jeswant Rao Bhao of Jawad, one of Sindhia's officers, but, as usual, exercising independent authority within his own districts, invited the Pindari to take shelter in his own country, having given him and his followers an asylum for their property and families in the thickets adjacent to the fort of Kanakmer, in Mewar. Although, however, the final extirpation of the freebooters was not yet accomplished, important advantages had been secured by the judiciousness and activity of the combined operations against them. By the advance of the first and third divisions of the army of the Dekhin, and the flank movement of the fifth, the Pindaris had been driven from their haunts on the Nerbudda. By a seasonable forward movement of a detachment of a centre of the grand army, they had been prevented from making their way to Gwalior, and had been compelled to turn off towards the north-west, in the hope of finding shelter in Kota, or with Amir Khasan. Closely followed by the fifth division of the Dekhin army, and the left wing of the grand army from the west and south ; they were cut off from the northern course by the right division of the army of Hindustan, and obliged to confine them-

BOOK II. selves to a narrow region on the western boundaries of
 CHAP. VI. Malwa. They had been perpetually harassed, repeatedly
 1817. surprised, and had suffered severe loss. Their numbers
 had been greatly diminished, and they were now reduced
 to a few scattered, feeble, and dispirited bands, hopeless of
 escape from utter destruction, except through the inter-
 vention of more powerful protectors than any who were
 likely to come forward in their defence.

CHAPTER VII.

Transactions at Nagpur. — Discontent of Apa Sahib. — Accepts publicly Honorary Distinctions from the Peshwa. — Hostile Indications. — Preparations for Defence. — British Force. — Situation of the Residency. — Sitabaldi Hills. — Residency attacked. — Action of Sitabaldi. — Mahrattas defeated. — Negotiations. — Arrival of General Doreton with the Second Division of the Dekhin Army at Nagpur. — Advance of General Hardyman's Division. — Action of Jabalpur. — Town occupied. — Affairs at Nagpur. — Terms offered to the Raja. — Apa Sahib comes into the British lines. — Action of Nagpur. — Mahratta army dispersed. — Contumacy of the Arab garrison. — City stormed. — Failure of the attack. — Terms granted, and Nagpur evacuated. — Provisional Engagement with the Raja. — Policy of the Court of Holkar. — Intrigues with the Peshwa. — Professions of Amity. — Violence of the Military Leaders. — Murder of Tulasi Bai. — Hostilities with the British. — Battle of Mahidpur. — Advance of Sir Thomas Hislop. — Joined by the Guzerat Division. — Sir John Malcolm detached in pursuit of Holkar. — Negotiations for Peace. — Treaty executed. — Prosecution of Operations against the Pindaris. — Karim protected at Jawad. — Concentration of British Divisions on Jawad. — Movements of General Keiv. — Chetow returns to the Nerbudda Valley. — Surprised by Major Heath. — Takes refuge in Bhopal. — Proposes to submit. — Refuses the Terms. — Again flies. — Karim's Durra surprised by Major Clarke. — Dispersed. — Many of the Leaders surrender. — Lands

granted them in Bhopal and Gorakhpur. — General Broom marches against Jwah. — Jeswant Rao Bhao surrenders. — Forts in Mewar recovered. — Troops under military Chiefs in Malwa dispersed. — Order restored in the Territories of Holkar. — Operations against the Peshwa. — General Smith marches to Purandhar. — Peshwa retreats towards the Sources of the Godavari. — Joined by Trimbak. — General Smith cuts off his Flight to Malwa. — He falls back towards Poona. — Captain Staunton detached to reinforce the Troops at the Capital. — Falls in with the Peshwa's Army. — Brilliant Action at Koragam. — General Smith returns to Secoor. — Peshwa turns off to the East. — Pursued by the Reserve. — Joined by the Fourth Division. — Possession taken of Satara. — The Raja proclaimed. — Peshwa formally deposed. — Mahratta Forts reduced. — Smith resumes his Pursuit. — Overtakes the Peshwa at Ashti. — Cavalry Action at Ashti. — Mahratta Horse defeated. — Gokla killed. — The Raja of Satara rescued. — Baji Rao's Followers leave him. — The Southern Chiefs submit. — He flies to the North. — Hemmed in between the British Divisions. — Passes to the East to join the Raja of Nagpur at Chanda. — Chanda covered. — Baji Rao pressed by General Doreton. — Falls upon Colonel Adams. — His whole Force broken up. — He escapes. — Flies towards Burchanpur. — State of the Mahratta Territories. — Ceded Districts in charge of Colonel Munro. — His Operations. — Organizes a Local Militia. — Reduces the neighbouring districts. — Reinforced. — Captures Badansi and Belgam. — Assumes command of the Reserve. — Warota taken. — Raja of Satara formally installed. — General Munro marches against Sholapur. — The Peshwa's Infantry defeated and dispersed. — The Fort surrendered. — Operations in the Konkan. — Reduction of Raigerh. — Country between the Bhima and Krishna Rivers occupied.

WHILE the right and left wing of the Grand army, and the fifth division of the army of the Dekhin were employed in chasing the Pindaris from the line of the Chambal, and from western Malwa; the other divisions of the Dekhin army had engaged in hostilities with enemies of a different description. The return of the fourth divi-

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BOOK II. serve the friendship of the Resident, and was fully prepared to conform to the pleasure of the British Government in all things, hoping that some relaxation of the conditions of the treaty might be admitted in his favour. These proceedings had not passed without meeting with the earnest remonstrances of the Resident, and his announcement of their inevitable consequences. All personal intercourse ceased between him and the court: on the other hand, the communication between the Residency and the city was interdicted, and finally, on the morning of the 26th of November, armed men were stationed opposite to the British lines, and guns pointed against them. Still, however, messages were sent to the Resident proposing terms on which a reconciliation might yet take place, but they were justly regarded as delusive, and the Raja was told that unless he returned into the city immediately, and discontinued his military operations without delay, no negotiations could be entertained. These preliminary conditions being disregarded, the Resident, Mr. Jenkins, prepared to encounter an attack, which he had some days past been induced to believe was contemplated, and which was now evidently on the eve of perpetration.

The greater part of the Berar subsidiary force had already taken the field, and there remained within reach a detachment which had been posted at Ramtek, about three miles distant, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, consisting of two battalions of Madras Sipahis, the first of the 20th, and first of the 24th regiments of Native infantry; a detachment of European foot and of Native horse artillery, and three troops of the 6th Bengal cavalry. These, upon the Resident's requisition, marched on the 25th, to the Residency grounds, and were there joined by the escort, consisting of about four hundred men, with two guns, two companies of Bengal infantry, and a few troopers of the Madras horse. On the morning of the 26th, they were placed in position on the Sitabaldi hills.

The houses and grounds occupied by the Resident and his suite were situated beyond the city of Nagpur, on the west. They were separated from the suburbs of Nagpur by the Sitabaldi hills, a low range of limited extent, running north and south, and consisting of two elevations at

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either extremity, about four hundred yards apart, connected by a lower ridge, across which lay the public road. The two highest points had an elevation of not more than a hundred feet, and were of different form and extent. The southernmost, which was the larger of the two, was level; its widest extent on the summit was about two hundred and eighty yards from east to west. It was covered with tombs. The smaller hill, at the northern extremity, was conical and narrow at the summit, being about one hundred feet long, by not more than seventeen broad. The slope of both hills was easy of ascent, except in a few places where they had been scarped for quarries. Close along the western base of the whole range extended the Residency: the huts of the escort being situated at the foot of the northern elevation. The several houses and offices occupied the remainder, looking west over a spacious plain. On the other three sides, along the base of the hills, were native huts and houses irregularly disposed. East of them extended the city, and beyond the city, spread the Mahratta camp, stretching round from the east to the south, about three miles from Sitabaldi.

In the disposition made by Lieutenant-Colonel Scott of his small force, the lower hill was occupied by the 1st battalion of the 24th, with two six-pounders drawn up on its northern declivity. The 1st of the 20th, with one company of the 24th, were posted on the larger eminence, facing east and south. One hundred men of the escort defended its western side, and the rest were stationed to guard the Residency dwellings, which had been fitted for defence as well as time and means allowed. The three troops of cavalry, with the small party of the Madras body guard, were formed on the plain in front of the Residency. The whole force was about one thousand three hundred strong. The numbers of the Mahrattas were computed at twelve thousand horse, and eight thousand foot, the latter including three thousand Arabs.¹

During the forenoon of the 26th, notwithstanding the receipt of pacific messages from the Raja, large masses of cavalry were seen spreading themselves along the plain to the west of the Residency, while on the side of the city, infantry and guns were taking up positions menacing the

¹ Papers, Mahratta war, 135.

BOOK II. hills. Towards sunset, Mr. Jenkins was visited by two of
 CHAP. VII. the Raja's ministers, Narayan Pundit, and Narayanji
 1817. Nagria; the latter was one of the principal of the war
 faction; the former was friendly to the British. To them
 the Resident repeated his demands that all hostile preparations should be countermanded as a preliminary to any negotiations; but, before he could ascertain the object of their coming, or the extent of their powers, the firing had commenced, and he repaired to the scene of action. Narayanji returned to the Raja: his colleague preferred sharing the fortunes of the Resident.

The abrupt termination of this unproductive mission originated with the Arab mercenaries in the service of Nagpur, who opened a smart fire of musketry upon the eastern face of the southern hill; it was presently followed by a similar attack upon the northern extremity of the ridge, the enemy firing under cover of the huts and the quarries along the skirts of the hill. Their fire was replied to with spirit, and a conflict commenced which continued throughout the night. The principal efforts of the enemy were directed against the smaller hill on the right, and they made repeated attempts to carry the post. These were as resolutely repulsed, but not without loss. The officer commanding, Captain Sadler, was killed, and the 24th had suffered so severely, that about one o'clock it was considered advisable to withdraw the battalion to the right of the position, replacing it by part of the 20th, and the escort under Captain Lloyd, who endeavoured to strengthen his post by a slight breast-work of grain bags on the summit of the hill to which it became necessary to limit the defence: the Arabs increasing in number and in confidence along the acclivity, although repeatedly driven down by the charges of the detachment. The firing was maintained throughout the night upon both extremities of the line, but with less effect upon the right, as the men were there sheltered by the greater extent of the summit, and by the tomb-stones on its surface.

During the night, the whole of the Mahratta army which had hitherto taken no part in the engagement, moved out into the plain, and as they extended in a semi-circle round the south and west, were distinctly discernible by the light of the moon, the illumination afforded by the

firing on either side, and the conflagration of the Arab huts: at dawn of the 27th they occupied the plain in dark, dense masses of horse, interspersed with considerable bodies of infantry, and a numerous artillery. They abstained, however, from any serious demonstration against the Residency, and were contented to remain spectators of the action, which still continued along the hills, where appearances began to assume an aspect most unfavourable to the British. By seven in the morning, nine pieces of artillery were brought to bear upon the northern eminence, to which the detachment could make no effective return from the two guns in their possession. Between nine and ten, one of them was disabled and withdrawn to the rear, which the Arabs observing, they rushed impetuously up the hill, and in spite of their resistance, drove the defenders from the summit. Guns were immediately brought up and directed against the right of the British line, which thus laid bare to a flank cannonade from a rather superior elevation, suffered severely, and officers and men fell fast before the enemy's fire. Some of the Arabs crossed the hill and set the huts of the escort at its western base on fire, while others, boldly advancing along the ridge, planted their standards within seventy or eighty yards of the southern elevation. The enemy in the plain were, also, in movement; the masses were closing round the rear of the position, and their guns had begun to take effect upon the cavalry stationed in the Residency grounds. The prospect was gloomy, when the day was redeemed by a well-timed and gallant exploit. Being galled by the enemy's fire, Captain Fitzgerald, in disregard of the orders which had commanded him to stand firm,¹ resolved to make a dash against the horse and guns most in advance, and with his three troops of Bengal cavalry, and twenty-five men of the Madras body-guard, he rushed upon the foremost mass of the enemy's horse. The charge was irresistible, the unwieldy column was repeatedly penetrated and broken, and entirely dispersed. Their guns were seized and directed against the fugitives, and before the enemy had recovered from their surprise, Captain Fitzgerald with his trophies

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¹ This circumstance is not noticed by Mr. Prinsep; nor in the account ascribed to Colonel Lloyd. It is particularly specified by Colonel Fitzclarenee, 121, and by Colonel Blacker, 113.

BOOK II. was again at his post.¹ This sally turned the tide of affairs. CHAP. VII. It had been witnessed from the hill, and gave fresh courage to the Sipahis. Charging the Arabs, they compelled them to fall back to the left. At this instant, a tumbril on the northern hill exploded, and taking advantage of the confusion which it occasioned, the Sipahis pressed forward and recovered the position, dislodging the Arabs from the summit, and driving them not only down the slope, but from the suburbs at its foot. They attempted to rally, but were taken in flank by a troop of cavalry which had charged round the northern extremity of the line, and completed the expulsion of the assailants from its eastern front. By noon they were, likewise, driven from their advance upon the southern hill, with the loss of two guns; and no longer venturing to approach the British line, confined their efforts to a distant, and comparatively harmless cannonade. Even this ceased by three o'clock, and the struggle ended in the unexpected triumph of the British detachment.² They had not purchased it without loss. One-fourth of their number was killed or wounded, including seventeen officers.³ Nor were the casualties confined to the military. The imminence of the peril had enlisted the Resident and his civil staff in the ranks, and while they had shewn themselves by their firm bearing, and steady courage, worthy companions of their military

¹ The movement is somewhat differently described by different writers. Mr. Prinsep says, "Captain Fitzgerald led his troops across a dry nulla bounding the Residency grounds, and as some thirty or forty troopers had passed it, led them against the enemy, who retired as he pushed forward, until having passed to some distance beyond the guns, and seeing that the Mahrattas were making a demonstration of surrounding his small party, he commanded a halt. In the mean time, the rest of the cavalry had crossed the nulla and followed the advance, but had judiciously stopped short on reaching the abandoned guns, which were immediately turned upon the Mahrattas, who were kept back by their fire. These guns the cavalry took with them, firing as they retreated." Sir William Lloyd's account is that "Captain Fitzgerald charged with the cavalry under his command, while Lieutenant Hearsay with half a troop, made a dash at two of the guns. Both attacks succeeded." The account given in the text, is derived from Colonel Blacker and Fitzclarence, and Colonel Scott's official report to the Commander-in-Chief. The critical opportuneness of the charge is acknowledged by Colonel Scott in the orders of the day, and in a letter from the Resident, it is stated that "the charge at the critical moment at which it happened, may be said to have decided the fate of the battle."

² The above particulars are derived from the official report, Mahratta Papers, 133. Prinsep's narrative, 2, 66. Colonel Blacker's Mahratta war, 109. Colonel Fitzclarence's Journey Overland, 115; and a description from the notes of Sir Wm. Lloyd, published in the Oriental Herald, September and November, 1839.

³ One hundred and seventeen were killed, and two hundred and forty-three wounded. The officers killed, were Lieutenant Clarke, 1st battalion 20th; Captain Sadler and Lieutenant Grant, 1st battalion 24th.

brethren in the hour of danger, they had been exposed to similar casualties. A medical officer was among the killed, and the civil service had to regret the death of Mr. George Sotheby, the first assistant to the Resident, a gentleman of eminent ability, and lofty promise, who had taken part in the action with distinguished gallantry, and was killed by a cannon shot from the smaller hill, after it had fallen into the hands of the Arabs. Nothing less than the inflexible resolution, and calm valour displayed in this brilliant affair by all present, could have saved them from the sword of an infuriated and barbarous foe, and their families, who tremblingly awaited the event in the adjacent dwellings, from death or dishonour. The victory achieved against such desperate odds, held out to the princes of India an additional lesson on the futility of opposing numbers and physical daring, to disciplined valour, and moral intrepidity.¹

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As soon as the action was decided, Apa Sahab despatched a messenger to Mr. Jenkins to express his concern for the occurrence, declaring that his troops had acted without his sanction or knowledge, and that he was desirous of renewing his amicable intercourse with his old friends. As little credit could be attached to these assertions, the Raja was told that the final decision now rested with the Governor-General, and that no communication could be permitted as long as the troops of Nagpur were in the field. The condition was acceded to, and on the evening of the 27th the army of the Raja retired to the position beyond the city, which it had formerly occupied. The Resident consented, in consequence, to the Raja's request for a suspension of hostilities, an arrangement equally required by the exhausted state of the British detachment, and recommended by the opportunity which it afforded

¹ The highest commendations were deservedly bestowed upon the troops, by the authorities in India and in England, but it was not until her present Majesty's accession, that any national honours were bestowed upon the survivors. The order of the Bath was then conferred upon Sir Richard Jenkins and Sir William Lloyd. An appropriate and interesting requital of their valour, was granted to the 24th Madras infantry. This regiment had formerly held the place in the Madras army of the 1st regiment, of which the first battalion was concerned in the Vellore mutiny, and the corps was consequently erased from the muster-roll. On this occasion a petition was presented by the native Adjutant, on behalf of the native officers and privates, praying that in lieu of any other recompense for their conduct, the regiment might be restored to its former number, and might resume its former regimental sashings. It is scarcely necessary to say that the request was complied with.

BOOK II. for the arrival of the reinforcements for which the
 CHAP. VII. Resident had applied as soon as it appeared likely that a
 1817. conflict was inevitable. Accordingly, Lieutenant-Colonel
 Gaban, who had reached Baitul, on his way to Nagpur, on
 the 26th, accelerated his advance, and arrived on the after-
 noon of the 29th, with three more troops of the 6th
 Bengal cavalry, and six companies of the 1st battalion of
 the 22nd Bengal infantry; being followed by the rest of
 the battalion. On the 5th of December Major Pitman
 joined with a detachment of the Nizam's infantry and
 reformed horse, and on the 12th and 13th, the whole of the
 second division of the Dekhin army, commanded by
 Brigadier-General Doveton, encamped at Sitabaldi. The
 strength of the force now enabled the Resident to dictate
 to the Raja the only terms by which the past might be
 atoned for.

The example or the orders of the Raja of Nagpur, had
 extended the spirit of hostility into other parts of his
 dominions, and his officers were everywhere assembling
 troops and menacing warlike operations. In the eastern
 portion of the valley of the Nerbudda, and in Gondwana,
 their proceedings assumed so formidable a character, that
 the British officers in command of small detachments
 thought it prudent to concentrate their force. Major
 Richards, commanding at Jabalpur, accordingly fell back
 to Gerhwara, where Major Macmorine was posted, and both
 retired to Hosainabad, where on the 20th of December,
 they united with Major Macpherson, resigning the valley
 to the east to the occupation of the enemy. As soon,
 however, as the state of affairs at Nagpur was known to
 the Governor-General, he directed Brigadier General
 Hardyman, who had hitherto held a defensive position in
 Rewa to march to the Nerbudda at once, and there regu-
 late his movements by the advices which he should
 receive from the Resident. General Hardyman marched
 immediately, and leaving a battalion of the 2nd Native
 infantry at Belhari, pushed forward with the 8th regiment
 of Native cavalry, and the 17th regiment of Europeans,
 with four guns. He arrived at Jabalpur on the 19th of
 December, and found the Mahratta Subahdar prepared to
 receive him near that town, at the head of one thousand
 horse and two thousand foot. The force was strongly

posted, having a rocky eminence on the right, and a large tank with the town of Jabalpur on the left. The horse formed the right, the foot with four guns, the left of the line; General Hardyman placed his guns in the centre of his infantry, and formed a reserve of his cavalry, with the exception of two squadrons which were detached into the enemy's rear to intercept his retreat. After a short cannonade, a squadron of the 8th Native cavalry charged the Mahratta left, broke it, and captured the guns. The horse fled, but the foot retired in good order up the hill. They were charged by another squadron of the 8th, but stood their ground until the left wing of the 17th ascended the acclivity. They then dispersed and suffered severely in their flight. A threat of bombarding the town and fort, led to their surrender; and General Hardyman, pursuing his route, crossed the Nerbudda on the 21st. Proceeding towards the south, he was met on the 25th by a message from Mr. Jenkins, dispensing with his further advance, and recommending to his care the upper part of the Nerbudda valley. He, therefore, returned to Jabalpur, and there established his head-quarters.

BOOK II.
CHAP. VII.
1817.

As soon as the troops of General Doveton's division had recovered from the fatigue of their long and expeditious march, preparations were made for an attack upon the Nagpur army, which continued encamped on the opposite side of the city. Apa Saheb had been previously apprised of the conditions, on his assent to which the permanence of his authority depended. He had been required to acknowledge that by his treacherous conduct he had forfeited his crown, and that the preservation of his sovereignty depended upon the forbearance of his allies; to disband his army, and deliver up his ordnance and military stores; to cede Nagpur to the temporary occupation of the British, as a pledge of his sincerity; and to repair in person to the Residency, and there take up his abode until matters should be finally arranged. Upon his compliance with these requisitions, he was told that he would be restored to the exercise of his authority, with no further diminution of his territory than such as might be necessary for the maintenance of the contingent force which he was bound by treaty to furnish. His assent to these propositions was to be sent in by four o'clock on

BOOK II. the morning of the 16th of December, and by seven of
CHAP. VII. the same day his troops were to be withdrawn, and the
1817. city given up to a British garrison. The Raja was to come in during the day, either before or after the execution of the terms. His refusal, or his neglect to fulfil these stipulations, would expose him to be treated as an enemy. To enforce these demands, the troops were drawn up in order of battle on the evening of the 15th, and slept all night on their arms. Late on that day Apa Saheb announced his acquiescence, but solicited a longer delay; and, on the following morning, it was affirmed, that the Arabs in his army would not suffer him to quit the camp. These excuses were held to be equivalent to a determination to hazard an engagement, and arrangements were made accordingly.

The army was arrayed in the plain to the south of Nagpur. The cavalry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Gahan, formed on the right. The rest of the line consisted of three brigades of infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonels Macleod, M'Kellar, and Scott. A reserve brigade of infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, was stationed in the rear, as was the principal battery, under Lieutenant-Colonel Crosdill, ready to be brought forward if needed. The 20th and 24th Madras native infantry, and the Berar auxiliaries, under Major Pitman, remained in charge of the baggage. Before the troops advanced, the Resident sent word to the Raja, that he was still willing to receive him, and granted him the interval until nine o'clock to come over. Accordingly, Apa Saheb, attended by three of his ministers, Ramchandra Wagh, Nagu Punt, and Jeswant Rao Bhao, rode into the lines. Protesting his readiness to accede to whatever conditions the Resident should impose, he endeavoured to protract the period for the surrender of his ordnance and the withdrawal of his troops. Finding that no relaxation could be permitted, he sent back Ramchandra Wagh to carry the terms into effect by noon. At the appointed hour the British force moved forward: an advanced battery of fourteen guns was taken possession of without resistance; but when the line approached the Raja's main body, it was saluted with a heavy fire of musketry and cannon. The infantry immediately pushed on, while the

cavalry and horse artillery, passing along the rear to the right, came in front of the enemy's left battery, supported by a strong body of both horse and foot. The battery was promptly carried. The troops were charged and dispersed. Continuing the pursuit, the cavalry came upon a second battery and carried it, but were threatened by a superior number of the enemy's horse. These were broken by the fire of the horse artillery, and the pursuit was continued for three miles, when the cavalry halted for the infantry to join, who had, in the meantime, charged and routed the right and centre of the Mahrattas, and captured their artillery. By half-past one the enemy had disappeared, leaving the camp standing, and forty-one pieces of ordnance on the field, and twenty more in a neighbouring depôt. The British encamped in the bed of the Naga rivulet fronting the city.

BOOK II.
CHAP. VII.
1817.

The disregard apparently shown to the orders of the Raja might have been preconcerted; but it not improbably arose from the headstrong wilfulness of individual leaders, and was characteristic of the relaxation of authority which prevailed generally in the Mahratta armies. The incidents that followed exhibited the same feature in a still more prominent light. The Arab mercenaries, heedless of all considerations of public welfare, and determined to secure advantageous stipulations for themselves, exposed the capital of their retainer to almost certain destruction. Being joined by a body of Hindustanis, so as to form a force of about five thousand men, they threw themselves into the palace which formed a kind of citadel within the walls of the town, and occupied the approaches to it that lay through narrow streets, between well-built houses, from the flat tops and loopholes of which a murderous fire could be maintained, with little risk of loss to the defenders. It was found necessary, therefore, to proceed deliberately against the refractory soldiery, and clear away the obstacles which barred access to their principal defence. To do this promptly was impracticable, as the battering train attached to the second division had been left behind at Akola, on the advance to Nagpur. It was now ordered forward; but, in the meantime, batteries were formed with the guns in camp, and between the 19th and 22nd of

BOOK II. December, regular approaches were carried along the
 CHAP. VII. lateral embankments of a large piece of water, the Jama
 Talao, which was situated between Nagpur and the Sita-
 baldi hills, until they reached the transverse bank, parallel
 1817. with the city wall. Trenches were then dug, and the
 opposite gateway, with a part of the wall on either side,
 was soon laid in ruins. The walls of the palace were
 about two hundred and fifty yards distant, and it was
 considered practicable to form a lodgment at this point
 from whence they might be breached, with which view, a
 party, consisting of one company of the Royal Scots, and
 four of the 22nd Bombay native infantry, with sappers
 and miners, was ordered against the gateway, while two
 different assaults were made in other quarters, to distract
 the attention of the garrison. The subordinate attacks
 succeeded, but that on the principal gateway failed, the
 column encountering a raking fire from the Arabs under
 cover of the houses on either hand, which inflicted heavy
 loss, and could not be effectively met. The troops, there-
 fore, hesitated to follow their officers, one of whom, Lieut.
 Bell¹ of the Royals, was killed in the breach. The assail-
 ants were recalled, and it was resolved to await the arrival
 of the heavy artillery. The necessity of this delay was
 obviated, however, by the repetition of proposals from the
 Arabs to capitulate; and as much loss had been already
 suffered, and little progress could be made until the ar-
 rival of the battering train, it was deemed prudent to get
 rid of them by granting the conditions which they had
 originally demanded: security for their persons, property,
 and families, a gratuity of fifty thousand rupees in addi-
 tion to their arrears of pay, and a safe conduct to Mal-
 kapur, where they were to be disbanded, and allowed to
 go whither they pleased, upon an engagement not to enter
 the fort of Asirgerh.² After plundering the palace, and
 committing various excesses, the Arabs marched out of
 Nagpur, which was occupied by a detachment under
 Colonel Scott; some of them went off to Hyderabad, but

¹ The total loss was ninety killed and one hundred and seventy-four wounded.

² Colonel Blacker considers the engineer blamable for the failure of the storm. He is the authority also for the Arabs having their own terms. Lord Hastings and Mr. Prinsep do not specify the fact, nor is it mentioned in the Resident's or General Doreton's despatches.—Papers, Mahratta war, 133, 176.

the larger number found their way to Kandesh, where they enlisted with the enemies of the British in that quarter. During the operations against the city, the principal body of the Nagpur horse, which had fled to Warigam, was surprised by a detachment under Major Munt, and put to the rout.

BOOK II.

CHAP. VII.

1817.

As soon as information of the attack upon the Residency reached the Governor-General, he had resolved not to leave Apa Saheb even nominally at the head of the government of Nagpur, nor did he change his decision upon learning that the Raja had given himself up, but reiterated his orders for Apa Saheb's deposal, unless the Resident should have entered into engagements with him implying the non-enforcement of that condition. His Lordship's instructions having been delayed by the difficulty of communication, Mr. Jenkins had, in the meantime, guaranteed to the Raja the continuance of his rank, influenced by the hope that the danger he had incurred, and the lenity he had experienced, might deter him from future practices adverse to the interests of his allies, and hazardous to himself; and by the conviction that the stipulations to which he had assented were sufficient to deprive him of the power of doing mischief, and to place upon a sound and durable basis the objects of the alliance. When made aware of the Governor-General's reluctance to the restoration of the Raja, it was too late to follow his policy, and it was not the purpose of the Marquis of Hastings to annul any part of the arrangements to which the faith of the Resident had been plighted; but as the treaty with the Raja had not been definitively agreed upon, Mr. Jenkins offered to him, as the condition of his preserving his power, a provisional engagement, subject to the approbation of the Governor-General, to the following effect:—The Raja was required to cede his territories to the northward of the Nerbudda, as well as certain districts on the southern bank, and all his rights in Berar, Sirguja, Gawil-gerh, and Jaspur, in lieu of the former subsidy and contingent; to consent that the affairs of his government should be conducted by Ministers in the confidence of the British Government, and conformably to the advice of the Resident; to reside in Nagpur under the protection of British troops; to pay up the arrears of subsidy; to give up any

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- II. forts which the Resident might require to be occupied by British troops; to dismiss from his service, and to apprehend, if possible, the persons whom he represented as resisting his orders, and deliver them to British officers; and to transfer to the British authorities the Sitabaldi hills, with ground adjacent, sufficient for a Bazar, to be fortified at the pleasure of the British Government.¹ The Raja gave his consent to these demands, and resumed his throne on the 9th of January. Such, however, was his infatuation, that his conduct very soon justified the extreme measures which the Governor-General had originally enjoined, and he ceased to hold a place among the princes of India. Before, however, pursuing his fortunes, it will be advisable to revert to those of his confederates, Holkar and the Peshwa.

The conduct of the persons by whom the affairs of Holkar were administered, had long been characterised by a vacillating and insincere policy, arising from conflicting interests and feelings. In the first instance, the leading individuals had readily entered into the projects of the Peshwa; and the Government, in a fresh engagement concerted with Sindhia, had, as we have noticed, recognised in the first article the obligation to serve and obey that prince, as the bond of the mutual faith of the contracting parties. Envoys from the Peshwa were received with honour in the course of 1815 and 1816, and a persuasion was entertained that it would be practicable to form a general confederacy against the English, which should curb their ambition and curtail their power. Yet, although the national prepossessions of the Bai and her confidential ministers, Tantia Jog, and Ganpat Rao, inclined them to make common cause with the Peshwa, they were far from confident of the result, and a Vakil was sent to the British Resident at Delhi, to assure him of the friendly dispositions of the court. Up to the latest moment these assurances were repeated to Captain Tod, the political agent at Kota, and to Sir J. Malcolm, and even after the arrival of Sir T. Hislop, at Ujayin, accredited agents were sent into his camp, vested, as they affirmed, with full powers to

¹ Letter from the Marquis of Hastings.—Secret Committee, 21st Aug. 1826.
—Papers, Mahratta war, 423.

BOOK II. regency. She was not thirty when she was murdered.
 CHAP. VII. She was a woman of engaging manners, persuasive eloquence, and quick intelligence; but she was profligate, vindictive, and cruel, and excited the fears and contempt of those with whom she was connected in the administration of the government. Her death was little heeded, and still less lamented. The military commanders, the principal of whom were Ghafur Khan, the confederate and representative of Amir Khan, Roshan Beg, commanding the infantry, Sudder-ud-din, and Ram Din, commanding the cavalry, bound themselves by an oath of fidelity to each other, and professing to act under the orders of the young Mulhar Rao Holkar, prepared with great gallantry and some skill to encounter the British army.

1817.

Sir Thomas Hislop marched before daybreak of the 21st of December, from his encampment at Hernia, and following the right bank of the Sipra river, came in sight of the enemy about nine; a large body of their horse on the same side of the river had attempted to retard the advance, and harass the flanks of the army, but their main force was on the opposite side, the right resting on a rugged and difficult ravine, the left on a bend of the river, opposite to the town of Mahidpur. They were drawn up in two lines, with a range of batteries, mounting seventy guns in their front. The horse, which had crossed the Sipra, were soon driven back, and retreated to the main body forming in its rear. The troops then moved to the river, where a single ford was found available. The banks of the river were lofty, but under the further one was a spit of sand, on which the troops might form under shelter from the enemy's fire; and near at hand opened the mouth of a ravine, by which they could ascend under cover to the top of the bank. Batteries were erected on the right bank, to protect their passage. In this manner, the river was crossed without much loss, but as soon as the heads of the columns emerged from the ravine, a heavy cannonade was opened upon them, from which they suffered severely. With unflinching steadiness, however, they took up their position, and, as soon as they were formed, the first and light brigades, commanded by Sir J. Malcolm,¹ pushed forward against the enemy's left, whilst

¹ Malcolm.—Central India, I. 316.

the cavalry, supported by the second brigade, attacked the right. Both attacks were successful. The troops advanced in front of a well-sustained fire, and carried the guns, on which the enemy's infantry on either flank broke and fled. The centre stood firm, until the second brigade wheeled upon them, when finding themselves assailed on both flanks, they also dispersed. The fugitives were briskly pursued. In the pursuit, the cavalry came upon the camp, which was deserted, but found themselves exposed to the fire of a battery lower down the river, where the enemy seemed disposed to rally in a position difficult of approach, from the ravines into which the ground was broken. The object of the renewed resistance was, however, merely to give time for the passage of their troops across the river, and as soon as the infantry came up, the enemy hastily resumed their retreat. The pursuit was continued until dark, when the troops were re-assembled and encamped on the field of battle.

The victory was not achieved without loss. Of the British, nearly eight hundred were killed and wounded, including three European and twenty-seven Native officers.¹ Three thousand of the enemy were reported to be killed and wounded. Young Holkar, after the action, was carried off to Allote; he had been present in the action, seated on an elephant, and is said to have exhibited no marks of apprehension, but to have shed tears when he saw his troops retreat from the field. Ganpat Rao and Tantia Jog, who, during the action had escaped from their guards, joined the Raja, and the latter received the office of minister from Kesaria Bai, the mother of the young prince, who was acknowledged as Regent.

Although prostrated by the action of Mahidpur, the court of Holkar retained for a short period its hostile attitude, and it was necessary to detach a division of the army, under Sir J. Malcolm, to disperse the enemy's troops which still kept the field. The division moved on the 26th of December, and, after several marches, only took the baggage and the cattle of the enemy, at ~~Mahidpur~~ war, on the 31st. The main body of the army, under Sir

¹ The European Officers killed, were Lieutenant Michael Ross, Lieutenant Coleman, Madras European regiment; and Lieutenant Ross, 3rd battalion, 3rd regiment N.I.

BOOK II. recalled his parties, and resumed his defence of the north-
 CHAP. VII. ern line, shifting his head-quarters from Sanganer to
 Shahpura.

1818.

Sir W. Keir, having ascertained the intended direction of Cheetoo, pursued his course also to the westward, and was at Bhinder on the 12th of January, where the nature of the country precluding a forward movement, he retraced his march to Pertabgerh. On his route he learnt that a number of Pindaris were collected at the village of Mandapi, under the protection of Fazil Khan, a dependant of Jeswant Rao Bhao, who, like his superior, gave covert encouragement to the freebooters, and allowed his village to become a rallying point for fugitives from all the durras; disclaiming, nevertheless, all connexion with Karim, and having, through his chief, obtained from Captain Caulfield, the British agent, letters of protection. Sir W. Keir, having formed a detachment of four squadrons of the 17th dragoons, and eight hundred infantry, moved against Fazil Khan, and pushed on with the dragoons to surround the villages, until the infantry could come up. As soon as the cavalry appeared, the Pindaris rushed out in various directions, and endeavoured to escape, but they were pursued by the horse, and nearly a hundred were cut up. The infantry arrived; the village was occupied, and the fort was about to be attacked, when a nephew of Fazil Khan appeared and produced his letters of protection. They saved the place from pillage; and such articles as had been taken were restored to the inhabitants, although they were, in part at least, the spoils of the fugitives.

The main body of Cheetoo's force, after experiencing much distress from the unproductiveness of the country, and the hostility of the Bhil inhabitants of the mountains and thickets with which it was covered, and foiled in their attempts to reach the Guzerat frontier, by the measures adopted for its security, and by the activity with which they were driven from one post to another, endeavoured to reseek once more their original haunts on the upper part of the Nerbudda. By taking a circuitous route, they evaded the pursuit of the British detachments. Crossing the territories of Holkar to the eastward, Cheetoo reached Unohode, and on the 24th of January ascended the Ghat to Kanode, but twenty-two miles north-west

from Hindia on the Nerbudda, where Major Heath was stationed. Intelligence of the arrival of the Pindaris having reached him at 1 P.M., he formed a detachment of European and native infantry, and a party of irregular horse, about eight hundred strong in all, and marched without delay against the marauders. He came upon their camp at eight in the evening ; the darkness prevented his inflicting much mischief, but his movements had the effect of completely dispersing them, with the loss of their elephants and camels, and many of their horses. Cheetoo fled up the Ghats, and again assembled some of his scattered followers, but he was heard of by General Adams, and was once more obliged to take to flight by the approach of a detachment under Captain Roberts. After this, he wandered about Malwa for some time, until finding his situation desperate, he suddenly made his appearance in the camp of the Nawab of Bhopal, and, through his intercession, attempted to make terms with the British Government, demanding to be taken into its service with a body of his followers, and a Jagir for their maintenance. Finding that he had nothing to expect beyond personal immunity, and a provision for his support in some part of Hindustan, he again became a wanderer, and, eluding all pursuit, made his way into Kandesh and the Dekhin, where he united himself with some of the disorganised bands of the Peshwa's routed army, and shared in their ultimate dispersion. Although his principal leaders had surrendered, and most of his followers had quitted him, he still disdained the conditions on which he might have purchased repose and safety ; and in the rainy season of 1818, joined Apa Saheb, the Raja of Berar, with whom we shall, at present, leave him.

The durras of Karim Khan and Wasil Mohammed, after leaving Jawad, retraced their course to Malwa, which they entered in three bodies, more effectually to distract the attention of the British divisions, and avoid their collision. The most considerable of the three, led by Namdar Khan, the nephew of Karim, passed round by Nimach, and, crossing the Chambal, marched past Gangraur, where Colonel Adams was encamped, to Kotri, on the Kali Sindh, where they seemed to have considered themselves in safety. Accurate information of their progress was brought to

BOOK II. Colonel Adams, and he despatched Major Clarke, with the
 CHAP. VII. fifth cavalry, to surprise them. The detachment came in
 1818. sight of the bivouac of the Pindaris about an hour before
 dawn, and as there appeared to be no stir indicating any
 dread of his approach, Major Clarke halted, until daylight
 should enable him to make his onset with more precision.
 As soon as the day broke, he divided his detachment, and
 ordering Lieutenant Kennedy to make a direct attack with
 three troops, he led the rest to a point where he might
 better intercept the fugitives. The manœuvre was at-
 tended with complete success. The Pindaris, taken by
 surprise, attempted to escape from their assailants, and fell
 upon the party stationed to stop their flight. The pursuit
 was maintained for twenty miles, and of the whole body,
 estimated at one thousand five hundred men, not more
 than five hundred escaped.

Although the principal party was thus destroyed, there
 still remained the other two bodies which had passed to
 the southward of Gangraur, and to which the wreck of
 the defeated portion united themselves. They were not
 allowed to gather strength. Colonel Adams, satisfied that
 the district of Mewar was now cleared of them, confined
 his attention to those in Malwa, and following them up
 without intermission for nine days consecutively, drove
 them to the confines of Bhopal. Finding themselves thus
 hard pressed, the body finally disbanded, and Namdar
 Khan delivered himself up, with eighty-seven followers,
 to Colonel Adams, at Deorajpur, on the 3rd of February.
 Karim Khan, who had been concealed at Jawad until the
 30th of January, and had subsequently wandered from
 village to village, surrendered himself to Sir John Mal-
 colm on the 15th of February. His eldest son, and other
 Sirdars of his durra, gave themselves up soon afterwards
 through Zalim Sing of Kota. Kadir Buksh, of the Holkar
 Shahi Pindaris, delivered himself to Sir John Malcolm.
 Wasil Mohammed contrived to find his way to Gwalior,
 and threw himself on the protection of Sindhia, but was
 given up at the demand of the British Government.
 Many others put themselves into the hands of the Nawab
 of Bhopal. The terms that had been offered to the chiefs
 were, the removal of themselves and families to Hin

dustan,' where they were promised grants of land for their support, and in the interval a pecuniary provision. Karim Khan, Kadir Buksh, Rajan, and Wasil Mohammed were accordingly, with their families and followers, sent to Gorakhpur, where the two former were gradually transmuted into peaceable and industrious farmers.² Wasil Mohammed, restless and discontented, attempted to escape from the surveillance to which he was subjected, and being prevented from effecting his purpose by the vigilance of the police, took poison and perished. Namdar Khan, who had never led a predatory gang into the Company's possessions, and for whose good conduct the Nawab of Bhopal became responsible, was allowed to settle in Bhopal. The fate of Cheetoo will be subsequently noticed. Of their respective followers, great numbers had been destroyed by the troops,—still more by the villagers in some parts of the country, and by the Bhils and Gonds; still greater havoc was made among them by fatigue, exposure, and famine. That so many should still have adhered to their leaders, amidst all the hardships and dangers which they underwent, is a singular proof of that fidelity to their leaders, which characterises the natives of India; as nothing could have been more easy than for a Pindari to have deserted his captain, and become identified with the peasantry. The tenacity with which some of their principal leaders clung to the life of a wanderer and a plunderer, preferring privation, peril, and death, to the ease and security of tranquil social existence, exhibited also that impatience of control, that love of independence, which is the general attribute of half-civilised and martial people. It has been remarked as extraordinary, that in many parts of the country, and particularly in Harawati, the villagers were disinclined to give any information that might lead to the discovery and destruction of a Pindari band; but the inhabitants of

BOOK II.

CHAP. VII.

1818.

¹ Their great fear was being sent to Europe, by which, however, it was found they meant Calcutta.

² Karim's land was calculated to produce sixteen thousand rupees a year, his family and followers amounted to six hundred persons. Kadir Buksh's followers were about one hundred and twenty; his lands were of the value of four thousand rupees per annum: a few years after his establishment, he experienced some of the miseries he had been wont to inflict: in 1822, his house was attacked by a gang of Dekkatis, from Oude; four of his people were killed, and many wounded, and much of his property was carried off.

BOOK II. those countries had never suffered any greater injury from
 CHAP. VII. the Pindaris than from the other component members of
 1818. the Mahratta army,—they considered rapine inherent in the system,—had often taken part in it themselves, and looked with sympathy and admiration upon the hardships and hazards which their countrymen and fellow-plunderers underwent. The state of society in Central India was similar to that of Europe in the early part of the middle ages, when robbers, and outlaws, free companions and banditti, were objects of less terror than the more powerful and equally rapacious baron,—the more necessitous and equally unscrupulous monarch.

Simultaneously, and in connection with the pursuit of the Pindaris, the forces on the north of the Nerbudda, were engaged in various military operations which require to be noticed. The conduct of Jeswant Rao Bhao, in the protection which he had given to the Pindari leaders,¹ was justly regarded by Lord Hastings to be incompatible with the alliance which subsisted with his liege lord, Sindhia, and as it was satisfactorily established, that, although the main body of the freebooters had withdrawn from Jawad on the approach of Captain Grant's detachment, yet a number of them, with some of the chiefs, had been secretly sheltered by him, he was denounced as a public enemy, and General Brown, whose advance to Suneir has been mentioned, was ordered to proceed against him. Before the receipt of these instructions, General Brown had marched towards Jawad, when Captain Caulfield, who had been despatched to act with Jeswant Rao's contingent, under the treaty of Gwalior, having found all expostulation unavailing, withdrew to the British camp. At his suggestion, a squadron of cavalry was sent round the town to occupy the road by which the Pindaris might escape. On their march they were fired at, both from the town and from an encampment of

¹ Besides the Pindaris who were driven out of the village of Fazil Khan, and those of inferior rank who were sheltered in his forts and villages, Jeswant Rao gave open countenance to Bhikhu Sayed, a Sirdar who led the incursion into Gantur in 1815, and permitted him to pitch his tents within a short distance of that of Captain Caulfield, the British political agent. It was afterwards discovered, also, that Karim Khan, who had been unable through indisposition to accompany his Durra, was secreted in the town of Jawad at the time of its occupation. Jeswant Rao's protection was not altogether gratuitous: he received, it was stated, a hundred rupees for every Pindari to whom he gave an asylum.—MS. Rec.

Jeswant Rao's forces on the south of the town, on which General Brown immediately ordered out his whole line for an assault upon the Mahratta posts. The third cavalry and horse artillery having joined the advanced squadron, the whole, under Captain Newbery, attacked and carried the camp, whence the detachment had been fired upon. Captain Ridge with the fourth cavalry, and a party of Rohilla horse, was sent against a second and still stronger encampment, formed of two regular battalions, besides horse and six guns, on the north of the town. The detachment, disregarding the fire, galloped into the camp, charged and cut up the battalions and captured the guns; while General Brown caused the gates of the town to be blown open, and carried the place by storm. Jeswant Rao escaped with a few followers, and took shelter in Komalner. He shortly afterwards surrendered that fortress to General Donkin, and gave himself up to Sir J. Malcolm in the middle of February. Jawad and Nimach, two of Sindhia's pergunas held by him in Jagir, were occupied for a season, but were finally restored to Sindhia. The forts in the Mewar territory, Ramnagar, Raipur, and Komalner, the latter, one of the strongest hill forts in India, which Jeswant had unwarrantably wrested from Udaypur, were taken in the course of a few weeks by General Donkin's division, and were given back to the Rana. The whole of the country along the confines of Harawati and Mewar was thus cleared of enemies of any note.

The restoration of order in the territories subject to Holkar was an object to which the attention of General Brown was next directed. Shortly after the battle of Mahidpur, Roshan Beg, and other leaders of the mercenary brigades, retired with the remnants of their battalions to Rampura. Intelligence of their position reached General Brown on his arrival at Piplia, about twenty miles from Rampura, and he moved against them with the third cavalry, the dromedary corps, and two companies of infantry. No serious opposition was encountered; most of the refractory troops had already dispersed, leaving about four hundred foot and two hundred horse, who fled to a neighbouring hill, where they were overtaken, and lost about two hundred of their number; one of their leaders was captured, the others fled and found safety in ob-

BOOK II.

CHAP. VII.

1818.

BOOK II. scurity. The only body of troops that remained in force
 CHAP. V.I. consisted of the Paga, or household horse, under the com-
 1818. mand of Ram Din who, finding all attempts to raise an
 insurrection in the vicinity of Indore, where he had held
 authority, frustrated by the activity of Sir J. Malcolm,
 moved off to the Dekhin and joined the Peshwa. Bhima
 Bai, the daughter of Jeswant Rao Holkar, who had col-
 lected a body of troops in the neighbourhood of Dhar,
 surrendered herself to Sir Wm. Keir on the 10th of
 February, and was conducted to Rampura.

Whilst the great objects of the policy of Lord Hastings
 were thus attained, through the conduct of the com-
 manders, and gallantry of the troops engaged in their
 prosecution, in Central Hindustan, no less judgment and
 activity were displayed on the occasions which called for
 the exertion of those qualities in the Dekhin, for the final
 eradication of the authority of the Peshwa. The once
 formidable prince who bore that appellation, continued
 throughout the same period to remain in arms, although a
 fugitive, and to keep alive the spirit of resistance in a
 portion of the Mahratta country.

Upon the retreat of Baji Rao from Poona to Purandhar,
 he was followed thither by General Smith, as soon as the
 arrangements for the security of the capital were com-
 pleted. The march of the division was incessantly har-
 rassed by the Mahratta horse, which hung upon its flank
 and rear, threatening to cut off its baggage and intercept
 its supplies. On its approach, the Peshwa moved to
 Satara, whence he carried off the person of the descendant
 of Sivaji and his family, and continued his route to Poosa-
 saoli, where he arrived on the 29th of November, 1817.
 Here his flight to the southward was arrested by the fear
 of falling upon the reserve under General Pritzler, which
 was moving in a northerly direction to meet him, and he
 turned aside to the east to Punderpur, whence he retraced
 his steps, and again moved northward towards the sources
 of the G&daveri river; on the road he was joined by
 Trimbak, with reinforcements from Kandesh. The fourth
 division followed him closely, arriving at Pundarpur on the
 second day after Baji Rao had quitted it; and thence con-
 tinuing its march so as to deter him from making any
 attempt upon Poona, as he passed it on his northern

route. General Smith keeping the same track arrived at Seroor, the cantonments of the subsidiary force, on the 17th of December, and there, dropping the heavy guns which had somewhat delayed his progress, resumed his pursuit on the 22nd; and having ascertained that during the halt at Seroor, the Peshwa had loitered on his route, he made a circuit to the eastward with such expedition and secrecy, as to place his force on the line of the Peshwa's retreat, cutting him off in that direction from Malwa. Thus prevented by the superior activity of his pursuers from penetrating into Malwa, where he hoped that his presence would encourage Sindhia and Holkar to exert themselves in his favour, Baji Rao attempted to profit by the opening which the distance of General Smith afforded, and recover possession of Poona. He arrived at Watúr on the 28th, and on the 30th was at Chakan, within eighteen miles of the capital, a movement which led to one of the most brilliant actions which distinguished the campaign.

BOOK II.
CHAP. VII.

1818.

The approach of the Peshwa towards Poona, induced Captain Burr, who had been left for the defence of the city, with three native battalions and a body of irregular horse, to call for a reinforcement from Seroor, in consequence of which Captain Staunton was despatched with the 2nd battalion of the 1st regiment of Bombay N.I. six hundred strong, two guns, and twenty-six European artillerymen, under Lieutenant Chisholm of the Madras artillery, and a detachment of about three hundred and fifty reformed horse, under Lieutenant Swanston.

The detachment left Seroor on the 31st of December, at six in the evening, and by ten on the following morning, had ascended some high ground about half way to Poona, overlooking the village of Korigaon, and the adjacent plain watered by the Bhima river. Beyond the river appeared the whole of the Peshwa's forces, estimated at twenty thousand horse, and nearly eight thousand foot. Captain Staunton immediately determined to throw himself into Korigaon, which being surrounded by a wall, and protected on the south by the bed of the river, offered shelter against the Mahratta cavalry, and might enable him to resist any force of infantry that could be brought against him. As soon as his movement was descried, his

BOOK II. intention was anticipated by the enemy, and a numerous
CHAP. VII. body of their infantry, chiefly Arabs, pushed for the same
1818. point; both parties reached the place nearly at the same
time, and each occupied a part of the village, the British
the northern and western, the Arabs the southern and
eastern portions. The Arabs obtained possession of a
small fort which gave them the advantage, but good
positions were secured for the guns, one commanding the
principal street, the other the banks of the river. By
noon the preparations of both parties were complete, and
a desperate and seemingly hopeless struggle ensued. The
first efforts of the British were directed to dislodge the
enemy from that portion of the village which they had
seized, but their superior numbers enabled them to repel
the several vigorous assaults made for that purpose, and
Captain Staunton was obliged to confine his objects to the
defence of his own position. The Arab infantry became
in their turn the assailants, and while some maintained a
galling fire from the fort and the terraced roofs of the
houses, others rushed along the passages between the
walls surrounding them, leading to the British posts, with
desperate resolution. They were torn to pieces by the
discharge from the guns, which were served with equal
rapidity and precision, or they were encountered and
driven back at the point of the bayonet by the equal reso-
lution of the defenders. In these actions, the few officers
commanding the troops were necessarily exposed to more
than ordinary hazard. They were eight in number, in-
cluding two assistant surgeons, who were more usefully
employed in encouraging the soldiers, than in attendance
on the wounded, and who shared with their brother
officers the perils and honours of the day. In addition
to the dangers and toils of the engagement, the men were
much distressed by want of food and water, and by the
fatigues of their previous march. Towards evening the
situation of the party became critical; Lieutenant Chis-
holm, of the artillery, was killed; many of the artillery-
men were killed or disabled. Lieutenants Pattinson, Conel-
lan, and Swanston, and Assistant Surgeon Wingate had
been wounded, and Captain Staunton, with Lieutenant
Innes, and Assistant Surgeon Wylie, were the only officers
remaining effective. At this time, one of the guns was

captured, and the enemy penetrated to a Choultry, a building for travellers, in which many of the wounded had been deposited. The ferocity of the assailants vented itself upon the helpless men who were thus within their reach, and many of them were barbarously slain. Amongst them, Mr. Wingate was cut to pieces, and Lieutenants Swanston and Conellan were about to share the same fate, when the surviving officers, at the head of a party of their men, charged into the Choultry, bayoneted every one of the enemy who was found within it, and put those without to flight. The gun was recovered by a sally, headed by Lieutenant Pattinson, although at the time mortally wounded. A second wound disabled him, but his example had been nobly followed, and the Arabs were driven back with great slaughter.¹ Notwithstanding their success, the loss had been so great, and the exhaustion of the troops was so excessive, that some of the men, both Europeans and natives, began to consider resistance hopeless, and expressed a desire to apply for terms of surrender. Their commanding officer, however, convinced them that their only hope of safety lay in a protracted defence, and that to surrender would doom them to certain destruction from barbarous foes, exasperated by the loss which they had suffered. This exhortation animated the troops to persevere, and the Arabs, disheartened by the ill-success of their repeated assaults, intermitted their exertions, and about nine, drew off, leaving the entire village in possession of the detachment. During the night water was procured, and arrangements were made for a renewal of the defence; but the Peshwa learning that General Smith was approaching, considered further delay unsafe, and at day-light of the 2nd of January, his whole force was in motion along the Poona road. Not being aware of the advance of the fourth division, Captain Staunton thought

¹ This incident is narrated by Captain Grant. Lieutenant Pattinson, who was a very powerful man, being six feet seven inches in height, lying mortally wounded, having been shot through the body, no sooner heard that the gun was taken, than getting up, he called to the Grenadiers once more to follow him, and seizing a musket by the muzzle, he rushed into the middle of the Arabs, striking them down right and left, until a second ball completely disabled him; Lieutenant Pattinson had been nobly seconded; the Sepoys thus led were irresistible, the gun was re-taken, and the dead Arabs literally lying above each other, proved how desperately it had been defended.—Maharatta Hist. 3, 435.

BOOK II. it advisable to march back to Seroor. The enemy at-
 CHAP. VII. tempted to entice him to cross the river into the more
 1818. open country, by sending fictitious messages from Poona, urging him to hasten his march in that direction, and he pretended to entertain the purpose of complying with the request. Towards nightfall, however, having procured conveyance for his wounded, he set off for Seroor, which he entered on the following morning, with both his guns and all his wounded, with drums beating and colours flying: thus having set a memorable example of what is possible to a resolute spirit, and of the wisdom of resistance in the most desperate circumstances. Surrender to Asiatic troops, ignorant of the laws of civilized warfare, is as likely to be fatal as ultimate defeat. It may not preserve life, although it must incur dishonour. Of Captain Staunton's small force, two officers were killed and three wounded, as above named, and of the latter, Lieutenant Pattinson subsequently died of his wounds. Of the twenty-six artillery-men, twelve were killed, and eight wounded; of the native battalion, fifty men were killed, and one hundred and three wounded; and of the auxiliary horse, ninety-six were killed, wounded, and missing. Captain Staunton received the thanks of the Governor-General for his gallant conduct, and a public monument was erected on the spot in honour of those who fell.¹

On the day after the action of Korigaon, General Smith, who had learned at Chakan the situation of Captain Staunton's detachment, hastened to his rescue. Finding that he had fallen back to Seroor, he proceeded thither himself, and after one day's halt, resumed the pursuit of the Peshwa. In the mean time, Baji Rao had found his southward flight again obstructed by the advance of the reserve division, under Brigadier-General Pritzler, which had crossed the Krishna early in December, and after being delayed some days at Bijapur, in order to secure the safe junction of supplies, had reached the Salpi Ghat by the 8th of January, and ascending the pass, came upon the Peshwa's rear, who had crossed the head of the column, and keeping to the left bank of the Krishna, con-

¹ For the particulars of the battle of Korigaon, see Papers, Mahratta war, 180, 221. Grant Duff, 3, 434. Blacker's Memoir, 179. Bishop Heber describes the monument.

tinued his flight to the vicinity of Merich. He was followed closely by the reserve, and on the 17th a smart action took place between the cavalry of the division, and a large body of horse, under Gokla, who interfered, as was his practice, to give the Peshwa time to escape. The Mahrattas showed themselves in two divisions, which were successively charged and dispersed by Major Doveton, with a squadron of dragoons, and two of native cavalry: a third body intercepted his return to the camp, but this, also, was resolutely charged and broken, and the whole then drew off. The pursuit was again continued, until it was ascertained that the Peshwa had been forced upon the track of the fourth division. The reserve then halted for two days, after having marched twenty-five days without cessation. The proximity of General Smith once more threw the Peshwa on a southern route; his presence brought the fourth division into communication with the reserve, and both corps were united near Satara, on the 8th of February. The fort was summoned, and surrendered without resistance on the following day, when the flag of the Raja was hoisted on the fort, and a proclamation was issued, announcing to the Mahratta nation the deposal of Baji Rao, and that the Company intended to take possession of his territories, establishing the Raja of Satara in a principality for the maintenance of his rank and dignity, and of that of his court.¹

After the occupation of the Fortress of Satara, it was determined to continue the pursuit of the Peshwa with the cavalry and a light division² only, leaving the guns and the rest of the infantry to reduce at leisure the various strongholds in the southern Mahratta districts. Divisions for the same purpose were directed upon Ahmednagar and to the Konkan. Their objects were effected with little opposition. In the course of March, ten forts, including two of great strength, Singgerh and Purandhar were reduced. Ahmednagar, and the country between the Pheira and Bhima rivers, were occupied by Colonel Deacon, with a detachment which was at first stationed in

¹ Substance of a Mahratta Proclamation issued on the 11th February, 1818, by the Honourable Mr. Elphinstone.—Papers, Mahratta war, 245.

² Consisting of the horse artillery, 2 squadrons of his Majesty's 22nd dragoons, 2nd and 7th regiments Madras cavalry, one thousand two hundred Poona auxiliary horse, and two thousand five hundred infantry.

BOOK II. Kandesh, to guard the province against an inroad of the
CHAP. VII. Pindaris, and subsequently to intercept the Peshwa's
1818. flight to the north. The forts in the Konkan, were carried
by a small force fitted out from Bombay, under Colonel
Prother. Brigadier-General Munro, overran the country
as far south as the Malparba. Little remained to the
Peshwa except the ground on which he was encamped.

Immediately after the occupation of Sattara, General Smith had marched with the detachment he had organised for the pursuit towards Pundrapur and Sholapur, where the Peshwa had delayed and had levied contributions. From thence, Baji Rao resumed his flight, at first towards the west, but turned suddenly to the north and reached Ashti on the 18th of February. Accurate information was gained of his movements, and early on the 20th, General Smith came in sight of the Mahratta army as they were preparing to march. The tents were struck, the baggage was loaded, and the men had just taken their morning meal, when the alarm was given. Baji Rao, who had throughout displayed great want of personal courage, mounted his horse and fled with the greatest celerity. Gokla, with between eight and ten thousand horse, stood firm, in the hope of covering his flight and the retreat of the baggage. The Mahratta cavalry were divided into several masses, which made a demonstration of supporting each other, and they were separated from their pursuers by a deep Nulla or water course. The British cavalry advanced in three columns. The two squadrons of His Majesty's dragoons in the centre; the 7th Madras cavalry on the right, and the 2nd on the left. The Bombay horse artillery were on the right flank, and the galloper guns on the left, both a little retired. The ground over which they had to march was much broken, and intersected by small water courses running from the hills to the main stream. The formation of the line was consequently retarded, and the centre and right columns were separated from the left. Taking advantage of their disjunction, Gokla anticipated the attack. A strong division of Mahratta horse, led by himself, darted across the nulla, and charging obliquely across the ground from the left to the right, his men firing their matchlocks as they passed, turned the right of the 7th Native cavalry, and rode round

to the rear of the line. There with their long lances in rest they threatened the flank of the dragoons, but Major Dawes,¹ their commanding officer, immediately threw back the right troop, and wheeling the left into line met charge with charge. A confused fight ensued, in which General Smith received a sabre cut, and the gallant commander of the Mahrattas, Gokla, fell covered with wounds. His fall, and that of some other Sirdars of note, disheartened the enemy. The 7th cavalry having recovered from their disorder, and coming again into action, supported by a squadron of the 2nd, completed the enemy's defeat. They fled in utter confusion to the left, in which direction the main body had retreated, pursued by the second cavalry: after following the fugitives for about five miles the pursuit was discontinued. The whole of the camp equipage and a number of camels, elephants, and palankeens, laden with valuable property, among which were the images of the Peshwa's household gods, were captured. A more important prize was the person of the Raja of Satara, whom the Peshwa had hitherto detained, and who, with his mother and brothers, gladly placed himself under British protection. But the consequence most fatal to the Peshwa, was the loss of the chieftain, who, with exemplary loyalty and intrepid valour, had hitherto directed and defended his flight.² This officer had been long known to the English: he had succeeded chiefly through their influence to the rank and command held by his uncle, who was Governor of the Carnatic, and was killed in the course of the hostilities with Dhundia Wagh. At the time of the treaty of Bassein, Bapu Gokla commanded on the Peshwa's frontier, and joined the British forces under Colonel Wellesley, on his march to Poona;³ he afterwards served in the campaign, and was recommended for his military services by the British commander to the favour of the Peshwa's Government. He had been frequently indebted to the interposition of the Resident, for the preservation both of his possessions and his life, when he had incurred the displeasure of the Peshwa. Upon his reconciliation with

¹ Prinsep has Davies.

² See Duff, *Mahratta History*, iii. 443.

³ Wellington Despatches, vol. i., January to April, 1803. Grant Duff's *Mahrattas*, vol. iii. 47, 193.

BOOK II. many of his men. Colonel Munro about the same time
 CHAP. VII. dispersed a body of Pindaris, who, in the beginning of
 1818. January, eluding the pursuit of the British divisions, directed their course to the south, and committed some depredations; one of their parties entered the district of Harpanhali, but they were surprised and routed by the left wing of the fifth cavalry, and returned expeditiously to the north. The irruption, in some degree, deranged Colonel Munro's plans, as it induced the Madras Government to withhold the reinforcements with which it had been designed to furnish him, in order to guard the frontiers of Mysore; but the retreat of the Pindaris having removed all ground of apprehension, the troops were again ordered to the west, and Colonel Munro was reinforced by the 2nd battalion of the 9th N. I., and two squadrons of His Majesty's 22nd Dragoons.

In the beginning of February, Colonel Munro marched against Badami, beyond the Malparba river, a post consisting of fortified hills, with a walled town at their foot, having an inner fort, the whole being esteemed one of the strongest hill forts in India, and almost impregnable, if defended by a determined garrison. The division arrived before the place on the 12th of February, batteries were erected against the town walls without delay, and by the evening of the 17th, a practicable breach was effected. At dawn, on the following day, the town was stormed and carried, and the assailants following the fugitives to the upper forts, the garrison apprehending an escalade, sent out for terms of capitulation. They were allowed to march out with their arms, and by ten o'clock of the 18th, Badami was in the possession of the British. Turning hence to the westward, Colonel Munro proceeded up the Ghatparba to Padshahpur, receiving the assistance of different strongholds on his way, and blushing British functionaries for the management of the conquered country. The only place of any strength remaining to be subdued in this quarter was Padshahpur, near the western Ghats. Colonel Munro commenced the siege on the 20th of March; the place, strong and of great extent, the walls were in perfect repair; a broad and deep ditch surrounded the interior was garrisoned by sixteen hundred men.

made a more obstinate defence than had yet been encountered, and the spirit of the besieged, with the imperfect means available to the besiegers, delayed the surrender of the fort until the 8th of April, when a sufficient breach in the curtain having been effected, the commandant capitulated. The reduction of Belgam completed the subjugation of the country about the sources of the Krishna, subject to the Peshwa; and the rulers of the adjacent districts, the southern Jagirdars readily gave in their adherence to the British Government, stipulating only not to be required to serve against the Peshwa. Matters being thus settled, Colonel Munro was at liberty to proceed to the northward, and to assume the command of the reserve which, under Brigadier-General Pritzler, had again separated from the fourth division, and had been employed since the latter part of March in reducing to obedience the country in the vicinity of Satara. The principal operation undertaken was the siege of Wasota, a fort situated on the summit of a lofty mountain in the western Ghats, part of a range accessible only by a few narrow and difficult passes. It was considered one of the strongest forts in the Mahratta territory, and had been selected therefore by the Peshwa as a depository of his treasures, and as the prison of the family of the Raja of Satara. Cornets Morrison and Hunter, who had been taken in the beginning of the war, were also prisoners in Wasota. The force arrived before the place on the 11th of March, and as the Killadar declared his purpose to hold out, it was at once invested. With great labour and difficulty batteries were erected on mountain points commanding the fort. A brisk bombardment was opened by the 5th of April, and on the following day the garrison surrendered unconditionally. The Raja of Satara was in the camp, and witnessed the operations. Having placed a garrison of Bombay N. I. in the fort, the division returned to Satara, where the Raja was formally installed in his principality by the British Commissioner. On the 12th, the reserve marched southwards to meet Colonel Munro, and joined his force on the 22nd at Nagar-Manawali; receiving on its route the submission of a great number of hill forts, the governors of which beheld in the elevation of the Raja of Satara the hopelessness of aid or reward from Baji Rao.

BOOK II. Having concentrated and organized the force now under
 CHAP. VII. his orders, Brigadier-General Munro moved on the 26th of
 1818. April towards the Bhima river, near which the Peshwa
 had left his infantry and his guns, on his flight towards
 the west in the middle of February. The Bhima was
 crossed on the 7th of May, and the Sena on the 8th, and
 on the 9th a position was taken up within two miles of
 the enemy's camp,¹ and the fortress reconnoitered; a
 summons to surrender on terms, having been answered by
 the unjustifiable murder of the native officer who had
 been sent to make the communication.

Sholapur was a town of considerable extent, enclosed
 by a strong mud wall with towers of masonry; on the
 south-west it was further protected by the fort, a parallel-
 ogram of ample area, built of substantial masonry, and
 defended on the south by a large tank, supplying a broad
 deep ditch, which circled entirely round the fort, separ-
 ating it on the north and north-west from the town: the
 Peshwa's infantry, amounting to about six thousand foot,
 including one thousand two hundred Arabs, and eight
 hundred horse, and having fourteen guns, were posted on
 the west of the tank. The garrison of the fort was about
 one thousand strong.

At day-break of the 10th of May, two columns of at-
 tack, under the orders of Colonel Hewett, advanced to
 the walls of the town, and carried them by escalade. The
 attack was supported by a reserve, under General Pritzler;
 little resistance was made to the assault upon the town,
 and, except the part adjacent to the fort and exposed to
 its fire, the whole remained in the possession of the assail-
 ants, in spite of several attempts made for its recovery.
 During the assault, the Mahratta commander, Ganpat Rao,
 had moved round to the east side of the town, to take the
 attacking party in flank; but he was checked by the re-
 serve, and upon one of his tumbrils exploding, the division
 led by General Munro in person, charged with the bayonet
 and drove him back to his original position, with the loss
 of three of his guns. Ganpat Rao was wounded, and the

¹ After this junction, Brigadier Munro's force consisted of the European
 flank battalion, four companies of rifles, the 4th regiment, the 2nd, 7th, 9th,
 and 2nd of 13th of the Madras N.I., the 1st of the 7th Bombay, two squadrons
 of his Majesty's 22nd dragoons, two companies of artillery, and four of
 Pioneers,—in all about four thousand strong.

next in command was killed by a cannon shot. Disheartened by this repulse, and the loss they had suffered, the Mahrattas began to retreat, leaving behind their artillery, and whatever might encumber their flight. As soon as their retreat was known, they were pursued by the dragoons, and a body of auxiliary horse, but such had been their expedition, that they had marched seven miles before they were overtaken. They made an irresolute stand, and were speedily and completely dispersed before night put an end to the pursuit on the banks of the Sena river. Nearly a thousand were left dead on the field, and the rest were so entirely disorganized, that for all military objects the force had ceased to exist. The fort held out but a short time after the discomfiture of the troops. Batteries were immediately erected against its southern face, in which a practicable breach was made in two days, when the garrison surrendered, upon the promise of security for themselves, and for private property. The reduction of Sholapur completed the subjugation of the southern districts, and the operations of the campaign were concluded by the cession of Manawali, by Apa Desai Nipankar, a Mahratta chieftain, who had followed the fortunes of Baji Rao, until his flight towards the Nerbudda. This chief had strongly fortified his residence, Nipani, but as he had submitted in time, he was allowed to retain a portion of his territory, subject to the usual feudal conditions under which he had held it of the Peshwa. After visiting him at Nipani, General Munro returned to Dewar and Hubli and the troops went into cantonments.

It has been already mentioned, that in the beginning of the war, a small detachment was formed at Bombay, for the purpose of occupying the Mahratta territory below the Ghats, in the Konkan, and keeping open the communication with Poona. This object being effected, the detachment, commanded by Colonel Prother, was reinforced,¹ and directed to extend its operations above the Ghats. Colonel Prother ascended the Bore Ghat, and on the 4th of March arrived before Logerh, a strong hill fort, near the

BOOK II.

CHAP. VII.

1818.

¹ The force consisted at first of about six hundred men, detachments of the 5th and 9th regiments of N.I., and a few European foot and horse. It was afterwards reinforced by two companies of the 2nd of the 4th N.I., and about three hundred and seventy of his Majesty's 89th regiment sent round from Madras.

BOOK II. road from Bombay to Poona: no resistance was met with;
 CHAP. VII. the garrison of the fort, as well as that of Raigerh, in its
 1818. vicinity, capitulated as soon as preparations were made
 for an assault. Several other fortresses were given up with
 the same promptitude. At Koari, a hill fort, twenty miles
 south of the Boro Ghat, and situated at the summit of the
 Ghats, it was necessary to erect batteries, the fire from
 which, causing an explosion of the enemy's magazine, com-
 pelled them in the course of two days to surrender. In-
 timidated by this event, the garrisons of other forts
 surrendered them at once, and the division returned to
 the low country belonging to the Peshwa, between the
 Ghats and the sea coast.

• Before Colonel Prother's ascent of the mountains, opera-
 tions were successfully commenced with the reduction of
 a number of petty forts below the Ghats, and along the
 sea-coast, by smaller detachments, under Colonels Kennedy
 and Imlach, with the occasional assistance of parties from
 the cruizers off Fort Victoria, and a detachment of H.M.'s
 89th, which, on its way to Rankut, had been, by stress of
 weather, obliged to put into Malwan. Little remained to
 be accomplished for the entire subjugation of this part of
 the Konkan, when Colonel Prother, returning from above
 the Ghats, laid siege to Raigerh, a stronghold to which the
 Peshwa, in the belief that it was impregnable, had sent
 his wife, Varanasi Bai, and a valuable treasure. It was
 garrisoned by one thousand men, of whom many were
 Arabs. All impediments to the approach having been
 surmounted, the Petta, or town of Raigerh, was occupied
 on the 24th of April, by a party of European and native
 troops, under Major Hall. Much difficulty was experienced
 from the ruggedness of the ground, in bringing up the
 mortars and howitzers, with which to bombard the place,
 but the object was attained, and shells were thrown into
 the fortress with great effect. A safe conduct was offered
 to the Bai, to enable her to leave the fort, but the com-
 munication was suppressed by the officers of the garrison,
 who appeared determined to make a resolute resistance.
 On the 7th of May, however, a shell set fire to the resi-
 dence of the Bai, and she is said to have prevailed upon
 the troops to surrender. Terms were accordingly de-
 manded, and the garrison marched out, preserving their

private property and arms. Varanasi Bai was permitted to retire with her attendants to Poona, from whence she was afterwards escorted to join her husband in captivity. Raigerh is celebrated in Mahratta history as the early seat of Sivaji's successful insurrection against Mohammedan oppression; and at the time of its capture, boasted possession of his palace and his tomb. Previous neglect, and the recent bombardment, had left scanty vestiges of either. The near approach of the monsoon compelled the return of the troops to cantonments, although several forts, of minor importance, were still held by the Mahrattas. They were ultimately given up, and the Konkan became a British province.

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Quitting the sea-coast, and returning to the eastward of the Ghats, we find that a supplemental division had been originally despatched under Colonel Deacon, from Hurda, to occupy Kandesh, upon the recall of General Smith to Poona.¹ The detachment took up its station at Akola, on the 28th of December; but, in the course of two days, was ordered to move to the south, to counteract the Peshwa's advance in that direction, and disperse his adherents. The whole of January was occupied in the discharge of this duty; and in the beginning of February, the detachment was at Ahmednagar. Colonel Deacon was here in communication with Mr. Elphinstone, and was directed by him to clear the country between the Phaira and Bhima rivers, of any parties of the enemy that might show themselves. This was effected by the capture of the forts of Kurra and Chakan, in the course of February; after which, the detachments marched to Poona, where the different corps, composing the Poona division, underwent a new distribution, in consequence of the arrangements which had been rendered necessary by the dissolution of the army of the Dekhin.

¹ Consisting of two squadrons from the 4th and 8th regiments N. C., the 2nd battalion 17th N. I., and the contingent of Nawab Salabat Khan, being detached from the Second or Hyderabad division of the army of the Dekhin.

and orders were issued for the return of the centre and right divisions of the grand army to the British territories. From the centre a brigade of three strong battalions, and a regiment of Native cavalry, under Brigadier General Watson, was dispatched to Samthar, to take up the heavy ordnance which had been left there upon the march of the centre from Seonda, and the whole were then directed to join the left wing, under General Marshall, which remained embodied in order to complete the subjugation of the territories on the Nerbudda taken from the Raja of Nagpur. The remaining corps of the centre fell back to the Jumna by the end of the month, and retired to their appointed stations. Lord Hastings on quitting the army, proceeded on a visit to the Nawab of Oude, and arrived at Lucknow on the 6th of March.

BOOK II.

CHAP. VIII.

1818.

The right wing of the grand army speedily received the same orders, and commenced its homeward march by the end of February. One brigade of Native infantry was placed at the disposal of Sir John Malcolm, to assist in restoring subordination in the territories of Holkar, after which it joined the reserve under Sir David Ochterlony, who remained some time longer in force in Rajputana. Most of the remaining battalions had crossed the Jumna by the end of March. The divisions of Colonels Toone and Hardyman had previously been broken up, but troops were detached from the former to enable Major Roughsedge to take possession of the Berar dependencies of the Sirguja, Jaspur, and Sambhalpur, and a force under Colonel Hardyman, remained some time longer in the country upon the upper course of the Nerbudda.

The dissolution of the army of the Dekhin commenced somewhat earlier, and in the middle of January, the head quarters, with the first division, from which reinforcements had been furnished to the third, left in Malwa with John Malcolm, began their march southwards; consigning to the Guzerat troops the task of freeing the country round Indore from the scattered parties of Pindaris and disbanded mercenaries, by which it was still partially infested. Sir Thomas Hislop moved to the Nerbudda, and crossed the river on the 10th. The other three divisions, the Berar and Hyderabad subsidiary troops, with Generals Adams and Doveton, and the Poona division,

BOOK II. brought to immediate trial, and hanged upon one of the
 CHAP. VIII. bastions the same evening, for waging hostilities without
 the authority of any recognized power, and therefore
 1818. within the predicament of a robber or a pirate.

The circumstances which attended the capture of Talner attracted public notice and drew upon General Hislop much severe animadversion, an explanation was required by the Governor-General, and at home, both Houses of Parliament, in passing a vote of thanks to Sir Thomas Hislop and the army of the Dekhin, specifically excepted his execution of the Kiladar from the purport of the vote, considering it necessary to await further information on the subject. With that which had been received, Mr. Canning declared neither the Government nor the East India Company were satisfied. When the first feelings had subsided, the business was forgotten, and it was not deemed necessary to communicate such information as was received to the public.¹ The severity was vindicated by Sir Thomas Hislop, and his reasoning was supported by the Marquis of Hastings upon two grounds: the lawless character of the proceedings of the Kiladar, and the absolute necessity of deterring others from a similar conduct, involving needless peril and loss of life, by the example of his punishment. The fort that had been placed in his care by his sovereign, had been voluntarily abandoned by that sovereign. He had no warrant for its defence; he was no longer the representative of any acknowledged prince, and could not urge obedience to orders

retention of their arms is a point of honour of which they have always shown themselves tenacious, they resisted the attempt, and the affray ensued.—Sieges, Madras Army, 55. Colonel Macgregor Murray, at a subsequent period, affirmed that the attack was instantaneous; they had no time for parley. Lieutenant Lake's account is partly confirmed by Sir T. Hislop's despatch, in which he says, "the garrison were to the last moment offered the assurance of their lives being preserved, on their unconditional surrender. This, unfortunately, they did not, or could not, understand, as they persisted in asking for terms: none other could be given.

¹ Some of the despatches on the subject, were printed by order of Parliament, 16th February, 1819; but the documents are very meagre, and comprise but a small and unimportant part of those on record. Much more ample materials are on record, particularly the minutes of the Governor-General, in March, 1819, and Sir Thomas Hislop's vindication in September of the same year, confirmed by the answers to queries which he had addressed to Lieutenant-Colonels Conway, Blacker, Murray, and Captain Briggs. Colonel Conway states his opinion, that the sentence was a humane one, and Captain Briggs declares his belief, that it was demanded by the political exigencies of the times.—MS. Records.

in palliation of his resistance. That he was in possession of the orders for the delivery of the fort was proved by evidence: and it was also testified that he had declared his resolution not to give up the fort but with his life. He had incurred a foreseen peril voluntarily, and had made himself responsible for all the consequences springing from his determination. Even the attack upon the officers who had passed through the gate, was a catastrophe every way imputable to him, as he had stimulated his soldiers to resistance, and then abandoned them to the guidance of their own passions. He had been distinctly apprised, also, that if he stood an assault no mercy would be shown to him. He had despised the warning and was liable to the forfeiture.

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Reasoning from the usage of civilized nations, and adopting the principles which they have agreed to appeal to, as calculated to alleviate the evils of war, there could be no doubt of the justice of the sentence; but it might have been pleaded in mitigation, that the Mahrattas were ignorant of those principles, and that the Kiladar was punished for the violation of a law of which he was wholly ignorant. The loose practice of his government palliated his conduct, disobedience of the prince's instructions was far from uncommon, and the officers of Sindhia and Holkar were accustomed to interpret the orders they received, not according to the expression, but to what they conjectured to be the real intention of the chief by whom they were sent. In this case, also, the Kiladar might have urged, that, although holding immediately of Holkar, he owed a higher duty to the Peshwa, who was still in arms, and whose cause it was incumbent upon him to defend to the utmost extremity. As to the garrison, it is most probable that he had little or no control over them, and that they would not have listened to any commands which he might have issued.

The necessity of an example, is a more tenable apology for the rigour of the sentence than the violation of the laws of European warfare. Baj Rao was yet at the head of a considerable force, and was moving towards Kandesh, in which he had numerous adherents. The country was studded with fortresses: the commandants of which were in the interest of the Peshwa, and were known to be pre-

BOOK II. paring for resistance. The reduction of Chandore might
 CHAP. VIII. have been the work of a campaign; Galna and Rasajerk
 ————— were also strong places. The occupation of a large por-
 1818. tion of the British force in these sieges, would have
 protracted military operations, until the season admitted
 no longer of their continuance, and the interval would
 have given the Peshwa an opportunity of reorganising his
 forces, and of forming dangerous combinations in his
 favour. The extensive mischief, and the great loss of life
 which another campaign would have occasioned, were
 considerations of undoubted weight, and extenuated, if
 they did not justify, the condemnation of the Kiladar. At
 any rate, these were the reasons which mainly actuated
 Sir Thomas Hislop, and in which he was supported by the
 'concurrent opinion of Lieutenant-Colonel Conway, the
 Adjutant-General of the army, and Captain Briggs, the
 political agent, who assisted at the trial. The Kiladar
 made no defence. The effect of his fate was undeniable.
 Tulasi Ram, the Kiladar, was a man of rank, the uncle
 of Balaram Set, the late minister of the Bai, and his exe-
 cution made the greatest impression. Chandore, held by
 his brother, was immediately surrendered, and the other
 fortresses were given up with equal promptitude. On the
 other hand, an opinion prevailed among the people and
 the soldiery, that the Kiladar had been unfairly dealt
 with; and, in some places, a more obstinate resistance was
 in consequence encountered. An equally advantageous
 result would probably have been attained by a sentence of
 perpetual imprisonment, and the imputation of needless
 severity would have been avoided. But it must be ad-
 mitted, that hostilities in this campaign were generally
 prosecuted in a stern and inflexible spirit, vindicable,
 perhaps, by the cruelty and treachery of the Mahratta
 princes; but making little account of the feelings which
 the humiliation they underwent, could not fail to engender
 both in them and their adherents.

After the reduction of Talner, Sir T. Hislop continued
 his march towards the Godavari, and his route had the
 effect of arresting the flight of the Peshwa in that direc-
 tion, and turning him back upon the pursuit of the second
 division. On the 15th of March, the headquarters were
 at Phultharaba, and here the corps comprising the first

division were divided between the Poona and Hyderabad forces, with the exception of a small personal escort, attended by which, Sir T. Hislop proceeded to Aurangabad, where he arrived on the 26th, and promulgated his final orders as Commander-in-Chief of the army of the Dekhin. He also relinquished his civil authority; and the management of the political interests of the British Government in the south reverted to the functionaries in whom they had been vested at the beginning of the war. Sir Thomas then resumed his route by way of Poona to Bombay, where he embarked on the 12th of May, on his return to Madras.

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While the several divisions of the army of the Dekhin had been almost exclusively engaged in circumscribing the Peshwa's movements, the province of Kandesh, the first seat of military operations for the suppression of Trimbak's partisans, had been comparatively neglected; and the adherents of the Peshwa, in that quarter, had been suffered to collect round them numerous bands of mercenaries, and to strengthen the fortresses of which they were in possession. Opportunity now offered for their reduction, and Mr. Elphinstone, the Commissioner of the Mahratta territories, resolved to adopt active measures for that purpose: a detachment from the Hyderabad division,¹ under Lieutenant-Colonel Macdowall, was employed upon the duty, and ordered to proceed against the strong-holds, situated in the line of hills north of the Godaveri, which form the southern boundary of Kandesh. The range is formed of a series of detached elevations, rising abruptly from the plain to the height of from six hundred to eleven hundred feet, connected by low narrow necks of high land. From the summit of many of the hills start up bluff and perpendicular rocks, of eighty or one hundred feet high, and so regularly scarped, that they have every appearance of having been artificially wrought. Such of the hills as contained water had been fortified, and the rocky scarp constituted a minor fort, or citadel. There was seldom any work of defence raised upon them, as they

¹ It consisted of one company of foot Artillery, two companies of the Royal Scots, three of the Madras European regiment, 1st battalion 2nd N.I., four companies of the 2nd battalion 13th N.I., five companies of Pioneers, and a few hundred irregular horse; a small battering train and a corps of Sappers and Miners were also attached to the force.

BOOK II were accessible only by flights of steps cut out of the solid
 rock, and leading through a succession of gateways or
 barriers commanding each turn of the steep and winding
 staircase. The ascent was utterly impossible, if the garri-
 sons were no duty, as those who attempted it were not only
 exposed to a falling fire, but might be crushed by the
 rocky fragments which the defenders had the easy means
 of precipitating on their heads. Of this description was
 the fort of Ankilanki, before which Colonel Macdonnell
 presented himself on the 3rd of April. Either the courage
 or the fidelity of the Rikshar failed, or he was intimidated
 by the recent catastrophe at Talner, and he surrendered
 the post as soon as summoned.

The next place to which the detachment advanced,
 Chamlora, was, in like manner, at once given up by Rander,
 the brother of the Commandant of Talner; but beyond
 the Chamlora pass were two forts, Rajdher and Indrai,
 the Rikshars of which disregarded the summons to sur-
 render; Colonel Macdonnell, therefore, marched to attack
 the former, one of the strongest of those natural fortresses
 with which the hills were crowned. The troops encamped
 in the valley which separated the heights of Rajdher from
 those of the adjacent Indrai, on the 11th of April, and a
 battery was constructed on the low ground, chiefly in-
 tended to cover the attempts which were made to form a
 lodgment on an elevation more nearly level with the
 fortress, access to which, although difficult, was practi-
 cable at the south-eastern end of the hill, on which
 Rajdher was situated. This was effected easily on the
 12th, and an outwork occupied by the garrison, was car-
 ried. Arrangements for constructing a battery on its site,
 within two hundred and fifty yards of the fort, were im-
 mediately made. The guns were taken from their car-
 riages and brought up by hand, and the battery would
 have opened on the morning of the 13th; but after it was
 dark, the buildings within the fort were observed to be on
 fire, and the garrison endeavouring to quit it. Parties
 sent to make them prisoners were deterred from ap-
 proaching, by the heat of the passage, and in the confu-
 sion and the darkness of the night, most of the enemy
 escaped. Forty were brought in captives on the following

morning, by the irregular horse.¹ Inderai, and several similar strong-holds, in the vicinity of Rajdher, abandoned all purpose of resistance after the prompt fall of a place so celebrated for the strength of its position.

After halting at Rajdher till the 15th of April, the detachment moved to the south-west, and on the 22nd sat down before Trimbak,² a fortified rock, the summit of which was five miles in extent; the sides presented a perpendicular scarp, varying from two to four hundred feet in height, and everywhere unassailable, except at two gateways, one on the northern, the other on the southern face. The ascent was by narrow passages with flights of steps, and was protected by other gateways at the top, flanked by towers: there were few works on the summit, and the magazine and dwellings of the garrison were excavations in the rock. The petta of Trimbak lay in a valley on the north side of the fort, and the Godavari river, issuing from the western face of the rock, flowed round the fort, and through the centre of the town.

Notwithstanding the difficulties of the approach, enhanced by the rocky nature of the soil, which rendered it necessary to carry up earth for the formation of an elevated, instead of a sunken, battery, a lodgment was effected on the north side, on the 23rd, and a battery was opened at day-light on the following day, against the curtain and tower of the gateway. A battery was also erected against the southern gateway, to distract the attention of the garrison, and intercept their communication. A nearer approach to the north gate was accomplished on the 24th, and the enemy were driven from a ruined village at the foot of the scarp which afforded cover for the besiegers. Following up this advantage with some precipitancy, and under a misconception of orders, the covering party attempted to ascend to the gateway, but

¹ Colonel Blacker states that the cause of the conflagration was never ascertained, but supposes it might have been the effect of the shells, p. 320.—According to Lieutenant Lake, it was a quarrel which took place in the garrison, originating in the Brahman Kiladar's refusal to pay to the families of those men who had been killed, the arrears of pay due to them. In revenge, the garrison set fire to his house, and the manner in which the flames spread alarmed them so much, that they were induced to capitulate, 97.

² Trimbak, or more correctly Tryambak, is a name of the Hindu deity, Siva, to whom a celebrated shrine was here dedicated, whence the name of the place. The appellations of their divinities are commonly adopted by the Hindus, whence the designation of the Peshwa's favourite.

The employment of Arab soldiers by the princes of the Peninsula and of Central India has been frequently noticed, as has the character of these mercenaries for determined and desperate valour. Of the Arab troops set at liberty by the capitulation of Nagpur, a considerable portion had taken service with the Mahratta officers in Kandesh, and others had similarly enlisted, who had been cast loose by the dispersion of the infantry of the Peshwa. Although caring little for the cause of the fugitive prince, they were not disposed to forego their military habits, and retire to inactive tranquillity in their native deserts, and it became necessary to impose this alternative by their forcible expulsion. They had taken their chief stand at the fortress

of Maligam, and, notwithstanding the advanced period of the year, Lieutenant-Colonel Macdowall was instructed to lead his detachment against the place, he accordingly retraced his steps to the north, and returned to Chandore on the 10th of May. After a halt of three days, the force marched northward, and arrived on the 15th before Maligam, a fort of formidable strength, garrisoned by seven hundred Arabs. The detachment was much weakened by the fatigues it had undergone, and the losses it had suffered, as well as by the guards left in most of the captured forts, so that it scarcely mustered nine hundred and fifty firelocks, besides two hundred and seventy pioneers, and a small detail of European artillery.

The fortress of Maligam stood on the left bank of the river Musan, shortly above its junction with the Girni, a feeder of the Tapti; it was situated in a circular bend of the river, which protected its western and part of its northern and southern faces. The body of the work was a square, enclosed by a high wall of masonry, with towers at the angles: a second quadrangular wall of considerable elevation, at some distance from the first, surrounded the latter, and in the space between the walls ran a deep and wide dry ditch: an exterior enclosure at a still greater interval, of an irregular quadrangular form, surrounded the whole. The gates were nine in number, very intricate, and all containing excellent bomb-proofs. Part of the defences were of clay, but the greater portion was of substantial masonry: the petta was opposite to the eastern face, and was capable of being defended, as it contained many strong and lofty buildings, and was surrounded by a rampart, which, however, was somewhat decayed.

After reconnoitering the place from the right bank of the river, it was determined to attack it from the south-west, and operations were accordingly commenced on the 18th, after dark, in rear of a mango grove, which stood at this point near the bank of the river. The besiegers were not allowed to proceed without interruption, a sortie being made by the garrison, supported by a sharp fire from the fort. The river being fordable, the Arabs crossed and attacked the covering party in the grove, consisting of a detachment of the Madras European regiment, with great intrepidity: they were repulsed after a short but sun-

The failure of the attack on the west face of the fort, and the cover afforded by the Potta, induced a change of plan, and it was determined to assault the fort from the north and east. The main body of the force accordingly crossed the river, and batteries were constructed on the side of the town nearest the fort, and efforts were made

as follows:—The 1st Battalion of the 5th Madras Inf., the 2nd of the 2nd Battalion of the 13th Madras Inf., a detachment of the 2nd Battalion of the 13th Madras Inf., a detachment of the 2nd Battalion of the 13th Madras Inf., and a body of irregulars were

employed. It was stated, that when the column was under partial cover, the scaling ladders were dropped from the top of the wall, and the column, with a considerable reinforcement being sent to the aid of the main body, directed the attempt to be abandoned. The last day of the attempt was the 11th, and the failure was due to the position of the troops, caused not by the casualties which destroyed them at their leaders.

to carry mines under the towers of the eastern wall. These arrangements occupied the troops till the 10th of June, when they were reinforced by a battalion of N. I., and a battering train from Seroor. The mortars were placed in position on the same night, and on the following morning occasioned an explosion of two of the enemy's magazines, by which a considerable extent of the inner wall was thrown down, and the interior of the fort laid open. Advantage was taken immediately of the accident, and batteries were erected to take off the defences of the inner breach, and open one in the outer line; the result of these preparations was anticipated, by the proposal of the garrison to capitulate; and on the 13th of June they marched out and grounded arms in front of the line; their side arms were restored to them, and their arrears of pay discharged, after which they were marched to the sea-coast, and sent back to Arabia, with the exception of those who had been long settled with their families in the south of India. Those that surrendered were three hundred and fifty in number, part having effected their escape.

The loss sustained by the besiegers, amounted to two hundred and nine killed and wounded, including twelve officers.¹ After the surrender of Maligam, the division was broken up, and the troops composing it returned to their several quarters for the monsoon.

When the annihilation of the Pindaris, the desperate condition of the Peshwa, and the seeming contrition of Apa Sahab, gave reason to hope that military operations were on the eve of discontinuance, they were renewed in the upper part of the valley of the Nerbudda with increased activity, and for a protracted period. Their renewal originated in the perfidy and ultimate hostility of the Raja of Nagpur.

The restoration of Apa Sahab to a portion of his dominions, after having justly forfeited the whole by his unprovoked attack upon the Residency, might be supposed to have taught him, if not a lesson of gratitude, the danger of involving himself in hostilities with an enemy against whose overpowering strength he had found him-

¹ The officers killed were Lieutenant Davis and Ensign Natter, sappers and miners; Lieutenant Kennedy, 17th N.I., and Lieutenants Eagan and Wilkinson, 13th N.I.

BOOK II. self so wholly unable to contend. Yet, whether he fancied
 CHAP. VIII. that as long as Baji Rao was at large there were hopes of
 1818. success, or, whether he was impelled, as he affirmed, by an
 irresistible sentiment of duty towards the head of the
 Mahratta confederacy, he had scarcely been replaced upon
 the throne of Nagpur, when he began to plot against the
 power to whose forbearance he was indebted for the re-
 covery of any part of his territories, and for the rank and
 title of a prince. The intercourse with Baji Rao was re-
 newed, and urgent messages were despatched to induce
 him to march towards Nagpur. The orders, which upon
 the recent occasion had been issued to the Commandants
 of his forts, to shut their gates against the English, were
 either left unrecalled, or secret orders to the same effect
 were now circulated, notwithstanding the places were
 those which the Raja had bound himself to surrender.
 The British troops were, therefore, compelled to possess
 themselves by force of the fortresses which had been
 ostensibly ceded to them by treaty.

The left wing of the grand army had been left in the
 field for the purpose of occupying the districts in the
 upper valley of the Nerbudda, relinquished by the Raja
 of Nagpur, and, with this view, was strengthened by the
 division from the centre, under General Watson. The
 force was concentrated on the 5th of March in Bundel-
 khand, and its first operations were called for in that pro-
 vince.¹ Although not immediately connected with the
 affairs of Berar, it will be convenient here to notice the
 transactions in this quarter.

The treaty of Poona had transferred the rights which
 the Peshwa still claimed in Bundelkhand, to the British
 Government. These were chiefly foudatory services, and
 tribute from the petty principalities of Jalaun, Jhansi,
 and Sagar. Treaties were accordingly concluded with
 Nana Govind Rao, of Jalaun, and with the manager of
 Jhansi, on the part of Ram Chand, the Subahdar, a minor,
 by which they were both recognized as hereditary chiefs
 of these states. The succession was guaranteed to their
 heirs for ever, and they were taken under British protec-

¹ It then consisted of the 7th N.C., the 2nd battalions 1st, 2nd 13th, 1st
 14th, 1st 26th, and 2nd 28th regiment of N.I., three thousand horse of Sind-
 ha's contingent, four hundred of Baddeley's Irregular horse, with a train of
 heavy artillery.

tion. They were bound to serve in time of war with all their forces with the British armies; and to render all such assistance compatible with their means as might be required. No tribute was demanded from Jhansi, the former ruler having always been a friend of the British. The tribute of Jalaun, was remitted in consideration of some districts ceded by the Nana.¹ The arrangement with Sagar was less easily adjusted. The Government was nominally exercised by the widow of the last Raja, but was managed on her behalf by Vinayak Rao. The right of the Bai was disputed by Nana Govind Rao, of Jalaun, who was the nephew of the former Raja, and the successor to the principality. According to the terms of the grant made by the Peshwa, the Nana was bound to pay an annual tribute of three lakhs of rupees, and to maintain a body of three thousand horse. In the new engagement to be proposed to Vinayak Rao, it was determined to remit all arrears of tribute, and to reduce it to one lakh, or less, upon the cession being made of a fort or tract of land. The contingent was also limited to six hundred horse. As soon as preparations for the campaign were in a state of forwardness, Vinayak Rao was required to accede to these conditions, and to supply his quota of troops; but no answer was returned to the demand, and it was discovered that he had opened secret communications with the Pindaris, and had suffered troops to be levied within his districts for the service of the Peshwa and Raja of Nagpur. His contumacy and disloyalty were deemed sufficient grounds for dispossessing him of the power he held, and annexing Sagar to the British possessions; making an adequate provision from its surplus revenue for the maintenance of Vinayak Rao and the Bai, and transferring the balance to Govind Rao for his life in commutation of his claims.² General Marshall was instructed to carry these measures into effect. No resistance was attempted. Vinayak Rao was sensible of the futility of opposition, and submitted without further hesitation to the terms imposed.

The political management of Sagar, having been as-

¹ Treaty with the Subahdar of Jhansi, 17th November, 1817.—Collection of Treaties, Papers, Lord Hastings' administration. A treaty of a similar purport was at the same time entered into with Govind Rao, of Jalaun.

² Papers, Mahratta War, p. 413.

BOOK II. named by Mr. Wauchoppe, the Commissioner in Bundelchur. viii. khand, General Marshall, sent detachments to receive the submission of the dependent fortresses. The whole were surrendered peaceably, and the division marched to Dhamauni, a fortress belonging to Nagpur, included in the cessions which the Raja had agreed to make. The orders given to the Kiladar were of a different tenor, and it was not until batteries were opened that the fort was given up. General Marshall thence crossed the Nerbudda into Gondwana, where the same spirit of resistance had been excited by the instructions of the Raja; and the Commandants of the principal fortresses, and the rude tribes of the forests and mountains, the Gonds, who professed allegiance to Nagpur, had been encouraged to violate the conditions to which Apa Sahib had acceded. It was, therefore, necessary to enforce submission, and the force marched against Mandala, the capital of the district, situated on one of the branches of the Nerbudda, not far from its source, where it is joined by a small feeder, the Banjira. The mountainous irregularity of the country rendered the march of the division, and the transport of the ordnance for the siege, extremely laborious; but the difficulty was overcome, and on the 18th of April the town was invested. As the Kiladar refused to comply with the summons to surrender, batteries were constructed against the wall of the Petta, and on the 25th they opened with such effect as to lay it sufficiently in ruins for an assault. Accordingly, on the 26th, a storming party, under Captain Dewar, supported by a column under Colonel Price, both commanded by General Watson, ascended the breach, and advancing into the town, drove out the troops which had been stationed for its defence. They retired upon the fort, which was separated from the town by a deep ditch, filled from the river; the gates were closed upon them, and the greater number fell under the fire of the assailants; a portion endeavouring to escape, were cut up by the cavalry. This success intimidated the garrison, and on the following morning they voluntarily evacuated the fort without arms.¹ The Kiladar had attempted, during the night, to cross the river in a boat, but was taken prisoner as soon as he landed. He pretended that

¹ General Marshall's Despatch, Papers, Mahratta War, p. 207.

he had come to offer an unconditional surrender of the fortress, but his contumacy in defending it, contrary to the terms of the public treaty by which it had been relinquished, and a treacherous attempt made by him in the beginning of March, to cut off, by a vastly superior force, a small party under Major Bryan, who had proceeded to Mundala to settle the arrears of pay due to the garrison, and recover possession of the fort, agreeably to the instructions of the Resident of Nagpur, were thought to deserve the punishment of treason. The Kiladar was, therefore, tried by a drum-head court-martial of native officers, for rebellion against the Raja of Nagpur, and treachery against Major O'Brien.¹ He was, however, acquitted of both charges, Major O'Brien declaring his belief that the Kiladar was not concerned in the attack upon him, and the court expressing their conviction that he had acted agreeably to the secret commands of the Nagpur Government, and under the restraint and coercion of chiefs sent by the Raja to control the Kiladar, and enforce obedience to his secret instructions.²

After the capture of Mandala, General Marshall was called to the command of the cantonment of Cawnpur, and left that of the division in Gondwana, to Brigadier-General Watson, whose duty it became to reduce to subjection the Gond chiefs inhabiting the mountains that form the southern barrier of the eastern valley of the Nerbudda. A small force under Lieutenant-Colonel Mac Morine, the head-quarters of which had been at Jabalpur, had hitherto performed this office, as far as its strength permitted, and had latterly been engaged in checking the predatory excursions of the garrison of Chouragerh, the Commandant of which had hitherto refused to give it up to the British authorities. The feebleness of the detachment prevented it from undertaking more comprehensive operations, and the reduction of the country awaited the approach of a more powerful force. The division under General Watson marched, accordingly, on the 1st of May, from Mandala, and, after passing by Jabalpur, arrived on the 13th, within one day's march of Chouragerh. The necessity of a further forward movement had ceased, the garrison of Chouragerh had abandoned it on hearing of

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¹ Prinsep, ii. 203.

² Papers, 329.

BOOK II. which had been sent to intercept their march. At the
 CHAR. VIII same time, the division of Colonel Adams had marched
 1818. to the south, and its approach caused the Peshwa's retreat.
 He lost time and opportunity by this demonstration on
 Chanda; and the attempt to combine with the Raja of
 Nagpur involved him in the same ruin.

After the retreat of Raji Rao to the westward, Colonel Adams advanced against Chanda, and arrived before it on the 9th of May, with an effective and well equipped force. The town of Chanda, about six miles in circumference, was surrounded by a stone wall, from fifteen to twenty feet high, flanked by towers, and defended by two water-courses, running along its eastern and western faces, and meeting nearly half a mile from its southern extremity. In the centre of the town was the citadel; the garrison of which was between two and three thousand men, of whom part were Arabs. They had fired upon Colonel Scott's detachment, when recently before the walls. The division took up its ground on the south of the town, and batteries were erected opposite to the south-east angle, which, by the 19th, had brought down a sufficient portion of the defences to admit of an assault being attempted. On the 20th, accordingly, a storming party under the command of Lieut.-Col. Scott, marched to the breach in two columns, and, although received with a warm fire from the garrison, forced their entrance into the town. An occasional stand was made by parties of the garrison on the ramparts and in the streets, but all opposition was overborne, and the town being in the possession of the British, and the Commandant being killed,¹ the citadel was abandoned. Most of the garrison escaped into the thickets which approached on the north side close to the walls, and gave cover to the fugitives. The loss attending the capture of Chanda was inconsiderable, and booty of some value rewarded the resolution of the assailants. This operation terminated the campaign. Part of the force was stationed at Nagpur, but the head-quarters returned to Hoscinaabad, where the force was attacked by cholera, and lost more men by that fatal malady than by the whole of the pro-

¹ According to Prinsep, he was wounded at the breach, and apprehensive of being put to death, if taken, poisoned himself; he had no claim to mercy, as he had ordered the bearer of the summons to surrender sent by Colonel Adams, to be blown from a gun.—2,25d.

vious operations. Notwithstanding the state of the troops and the unfavourableness of the rainy season, detachments were obliged to be kept occasionally in the field in consequence of the escape of Apa Sahab and the effects of his presence in the mountains and thickets of Gondwara.

As soon as all apprehension of the Pesnwa's advance upon Nagpur had been dissipated by the movements of the subsidiary force, the Resident, in obedience to the orders of the Governor-General, sent off Apa Sahab, whom it was thought expedient to place in security in the fort of Allahabad, towards Hindustan. The Raja marched from Nagpur on the 3rd of May, under the guard of one wing of the 22nd Bengal N. I. and three troops of the 8th N. C., commanded by Captain Browne. On the 12th the party halted at Raichur, a small town, one march on this side of Jabalpur. On the following morning the Raja had disappeared. During the night he had been secretly furnished with the dress and accoutrements of a Sipahi, and when the sentinels were changed, had marched off with the relieving party. A pillow took his place on his couch, and when the native officer, whose duty it was to inspect the tent, looked into it, he saw what he supposed to be the Raja, quietly reposing, and two servants kneeling by the bedside, engaged in the office of rubbing his limbs. Some of the Sipahis had been induced to contrive the Raja's escape, and became the partners of his flight. Sufficient time had elapsed between his evasion and its discovery, to enable him to reach the thickets of the adjacent hills; and although, as soon as his flight was known, an active pursuit in all directions was set on foot, the prisoner was not retaken—he had fled to Haray, a place about forty miles to the south-west, on the skirts of the Mahadeo hills, and in these recesses, and under the protection of Chain Sah, a Gond chieftain, was, for the present, at least, safe from recapture. The fidelity of his protectors was proof against all temptation, and the large rewards offered for the recapture of the Raja failed to seduce from their allegiance the half-savage mountaineers.¹

¹ The reward was a Lakh of Rupees (£10,000), and a Jaghîr of 10,000 Rupees (£1,000) a year for life. The pecuniary reward was afterwards doubled.

BOOK II. While the Raja of Nagpur thus effected his escape
 CHAP. VIII. from captivity, the chief in whose cause he had perilled
 1818. his freedom and lost his dominions, was hastening to
 throw himself into more durable toils.

After his surprise and rout at Seoni, the Peshwa fled to the north-west with the design, it was suspected, of seeking a refuge in the strong fortress of Asir, which was held by Jeswant Rao Lar. He was closely followed. The Hyderabad division, after resting but a few days at Jalna, again took the field on the 14th of May, and on the 25th halted a short distance beyond Burhanpur, within fourteen miles of the Peshwa's camp. An immediate attack was arrested by intelligence that negotiations were in progress with Sir John Malcolm for Baji Rao's surrender. Prevented from crossing the Nerbudda by the military arrangements in his front, and alarmed by the rapid advance of Colonel Doveton; wearied of a life of flight and terror, and deprived of his chief adherents by death or desertion, Baji Rao became sensible of the fruitlessness of prolonging the contest, and resigned himself to the humiliation from which he could not hope to escape. He addressed himself accordingly to Sir John Malcolm, as to an old friend, and besought his intercession with the Governor-General for favourable terms, inviting him to his camp that they might discuss the conditions in person. Nor was he actuated solely by his own convictions. The few chiefs of rank who still adhered to him, conveyed to Sir John Malcolm their assurances that they would follow Baji Rao no longer if he refused to negotiate. Sir John Malcolm declined the invitation, but consented to send some of his officers to communicate his sentiments to the Peshwa himself, at the same time apprising the Peshwa's Vakils that the sentence of deposal was irrevocable, and that no negotiation would be admitted which had for its basis any proposal of Baji Rao's restoration; that the Peshwa must give up the persons of Trimbak, and of the infirderers of Captain Vaughan and his brother, if he had the power so to do, and that he must evince his sincerity by coming forward without any force, and meeting Sir John Malcolm on the Nerbudda. The Vakils were sent back to Baji Rao with this message. Sir J. Malcolm moved from Mow to Mandaleswar, where he arrived on

the 22nd of May, and thence despatched Lieutenant Low to the Peshwa at his earnest solicitation. Notwithstanding the fears under which Baji Rao laboured, Lieutenant Low found him very reluctant to relinquish his title or his capital although consenting to a reduction of his territories, and very apprehensive of the consequences of the proposed interview with Sir John Malcolm. The terms of the meeting were after much discussion agreed upon, and it took place on the 1st of June, at Khorī, a village at the foot of the mountain pass, above which stood the Peshwa's camp. Baji Rao, clinging to the shadow of power, attempted to give the interview the character of a public audience, and received Sir John Malcolm and his staff with the customary formalities, after which, withdrawing to a private tent, he exerted all his eloquence to procure from Sir John Malcolm some assurance of a reversal of the decree which had been issued against him. He declared that he had never intended to engage in warfare with the British Government, and that he had been the victim of the intemperance and rashness of those about him, most of whom had deserted him in his extremity, and his only reliance was in Sir John's friendship, and the generosity of the Governor-General. The hopelessness of a compliance with his desires was distinctly stated, and the interview terminated without his coming to any decision. As no delay could be allowed, an engagement was submitted in the evening to Baji Rao for his signature, with an intimation, that if not acceded to within twenty-four hours, hostilities would re-commence. The conditions stipulated that Baji Rao should resign for himself and his successors, all claim to sovereignty; that he should repair with his family, and a limited number of his adherents and attendants, to the camp of Brigadier-General Malcolm, whence he should be escorted to Benares, or any sacred place in Hindustan which the Governor-General, at his request, might appoint for his future residence. In the event of his prompt submission, he was promised a liberal pension, not less than eight lakhs of rupees per annum: that his requests in favour of such of his followers as had been ruined by their devotion to his cause, should meet with liberal attention, and that the same should be paid to his representations in favour of Brah-

BOOK II. would have been at work in every part of the Mahratta States, from the frontiers of Mysore to the northern extremity of Malwa. The expense of another campaign and of the preparations which it would be necessary to set on foot, were saved by a prompt arrangement, and the stipend granted to the Peshwa was not more than was consistent with the honour and dignity of the British nation, whose proceedings had, on all similar occasions, been marked by the utmost liberality. With reference also to the personal character of Baji Rao, it was to be expected that the more easy his condition was rendered, as long as his income was not calculated to furnish him with the means of carrying on dangerous intrigues, the more contented he would be, and the less inclined to incur any hazard for the sake of change. This last consideration seems to have been justified by the result, as the ex-Peshwa appears to have been reconciled to his altered position by the pleasures he has been able to purchase, and has never instigated any serious attempts to recover his power. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the annihilation of the Peshwa, as the head of the Mahratta federation, was rendered less impressive upon the native mind by the liberality of the British Government: however munificent the allowance, the representative of a chief who had once given laws to Hindustan, had descended to the level of a dependant upon the bounty of his victorious enemies. Although not approving of the stipulations, Lord Hastings immediately ratified them, and did full justice to the motives of Sir John Malcolm. He also admitted, four years afterwards, when addressing the Secret Committee, that none of the evil consequences which he had anticipated, had resulted from the arrangement.¹ The Court of Directors also formally pronounced their opinion, that the important advantages which resulted from Baji Rao's surrender, justified the terms by which it had been "secured."²

Baji Rao, after accompanying General Malcolm to Mahidpur, was transferred to the charge of Lieutenant Low, by whom he was escorted to Hindustan. A residence was assigned him at Bithur, about ten miles from Cawnpore, on the Ganges, recommended to the Government of Ben-

gal by its proximity to that military cantonment, and to the Mahrattas¹ by its reputed sanctity ; a European officer was stationed at Bithur as Commissioner, having the general charge of Baji Rao, and those who remained with him, and being the medium of his communications with the Government.² Trimbak, after the failure of his attempt to obtain any conditions, retreated to Nasik, and remained concealed there for some time ; but information of his lurking-place having been received, a party of horse, under Captain Swanston, succeeded in discovering and apprehending him ; he was conveyed to the fort of Thanna, whence he had formerly escaped, but was afterwards sent round to Bengal, and kept in confinement in the fort of Chunar, where he died. The commander of the party by whom the Vaughans were murdered, was long harboured by Chintaman Rao, one of the southern Jagirdars, but upon a force being sent against that chief, he was given up. As he pleaded, however, the orders of his superiors, his life was spared ; but he was imprisoned for the rest of his days in one of the hill forts. Sure retribution thus overtook the perpetrators of acts of treachery and cruelty, as contrary to the dictates of humanity, as to the laws of international intercourse, and bringing deserved disgrace and defeat even upon the justifiable vindication of national independence.

The extinction of the name and power of the Peshwa, and the dissolution of the bonds by which the Mahratta chiefs were held together, constituted one of the greatest political revolutions that modern India had witnessed. Little more than half a century had elapsed since Sadashco Bhao led two hundred thousand combatants to the battle of Panipat, and although the result of the combat was disastrous, the speedy retreat of the Afghans and the decline of their power allowed the vanquished to recruit their strength, and renew their ambitious designs with improved resources and enhanced success. A Mahratta prince ruled Hindustan as the nominal representative and real master

BOOK 11.
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¹ It is fabled to have been the scene of a performance of an Aswamedha by Brahmā.

² In 1832, the land adjacent to the town of Bithur was converted into a Jagir, and granted to Baji Rao exempt from the operation of the Regulations of the Government ; the civil and criminal jurisdiction being intrusted to the ex-Peshwa, subject to such restrictions as might at any time appear advisable. Bengal Regulations, I. 1832.

BOOK II. of the Mogul. Again yielding to the ascendancy of the
 CHAP. VIII. stranger, the supremacy of the Mahrattas was destroyed ;
 1818. but they retained strength sufficient to be formidable, and
 needed only consolidation and guidance to dispute with
 the victors the mastery over Hindustan. The blow now
 inflicted was irretrievable. The diminished and scattered
 fragments of the Mahratta confederacy were reduced to a
 state of weakness which could acquire no vigour from re-
 union ; and as the main link which had held it together
 was struck out of the chain, it was disunited for ever.

Although the escape of Apa Sahib occasioned the pro-
 longation of military operations after the surrender of the
 Peshwa, yet, as all the principal objects of the campaign
 had been accomplished, and the armies of the British
 Government had, for the most part, been finally with-
 drawn, the war might be now considered at an end. In
 taking a brief retrospect of the transactions by which it
 had been signalised, it is impossible to withhold from them
 the merits of comprehensiveness of plan, skill of combin-
 ation, and vigour and precision of execution, although it
 is equally impossible to deny that the tortuous policy and
 insane temerity of the Mahratta princes surpassed all
 reasonable anticipation. The web was woven with mas-
 terly art, but that the victims should rush so precipitately
 into its meshes, appeared to be the work of an overruling
 destiny, rather than the result of human infatuation,
 against which it could have been necessary to provide.

The equipment of a force so much more than adequate
 to its avowed object,—the extinction of the predatory
 system, upheld, publicly at least, by a scanty horde of un-
 disciplined and ill-organized banditti, was fully justified by
 the knowledge which the Governor-General possessed of
 the disposition of the Mahratta princes to countenance
 that system, and to perpetuate a state of things which, in
 their belief, contributed to their strength and ministered
 to their necessities ; replenishing their coffers with a por-
 tion of the spoil, and recruiting their armies in time of
 war, with willing and hardy partisans. That they would
 lend secret aid to the Pindaris was therefore certain ; that
 they would make common cause with them was not im-
 possible, and it was wisely done, therefore, to show them
 the danger of such policy by a display of the vast and

irresistible might of the British Government. The armies that took the field, and the commanding positions which they assumed, were well calculated to intimidate the most daring of the native chiefs, and to impress upon their minds the hazard of secret support, the hopelessness of open resistance.

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But beside the bias in favour of the Pindaris, arising from an imagined identity of interests, the Mahratta princes, as the British Government was correctly apprised, were animated by a spirit of intense hostility, engendered by their past discomfiture and recent humiliations, against the effects of which it was equally necessary to guard. Although it may be reasonably doubted if any definite combination against the British power had been concerted, yet it is certain, that Baji Rao, who had been the greatest sufferer by the British connexion, had been labouring for some years to infuse into the minds of other chiefs, the indignant feelings which rankled in his own, and to engage them in a scheme for the regeneration of the Mahratta power, and the restoration of the Peshwa to the rank and consideration enjoyed by his predecessors. That his intrigues had not altogether failed of effect was ascertained; and although no perceptible indications announced the general adoption of his projects, yet it was prudent, to leave no temptation to their adoption by a mutilated display of the strength by which they would be encountered. By the extent and disposition of the grand army, Sindhia, the most formidable of the chiefs, was at once paralysed, and the army of the Dekhin was well suited to curb the discontent of the Peshwa and the Raja of Nagpur, had they not, with inconceivable desperation, defied consequences, and rushed upon their fate.

It is not easy to comprehend the motives which urged the Peshwa into a deadly rupture with his allies, at a moment when his dominions were occupied, and his communications intercepted by armies to which he had nothing to oppose. He no doubt over-rated both the disposition and the ability of Sindhia to assist him, and he probably exaggerated the embarrassments and difficulties of the attack upon the Pindaris. He was not ignorant, however, of the resources of the British, or of the comparative insignificance of his own, nor was he destitute of judgment

BOOK II. or sagacity. It is not, however, inconsistent with the
 CHAP. VIII. native character; to throw away in a fit of extreme irrita-
 1818. tion the fruits of a long course of caution and craftiness,
 and to dare inevitable destruction. Without question,
 however, he relied upon a larger measure of forbearance
 than he experienced, and looking back to the excessive
 lenity which had been displayed to Sindhia and Holkar at
 the close of the last war, expected no heavier retribution
 than an augmented subsidy and territorial sequestration.

The conduct of Apa Saheb was, if possible, still more
 insane than that of Baji Rao. Inconvenient as he might
 feel the engagements which he had contracted, yet it was
 to them that he owed even what he possessed. His power
 was the work of his allies, and if the price he paid for it
 was heavy, he had yet no reason to believe that it was
 incapable of alleviation. His only plea in vindication of
 his conduct, was his allegiance to the Peshwa, a plea
 scarcely compatible with his position, as the Bhonsla Rajas
 had never regarded themselves as vassals of the Peshwa,
 and had not unfrequently been their opponents. The
 plea was a mere excuse for the indulgence of a rash and
 restless nature. His treachery could not have been an
 element in the estimate of probable foes, but the arrange-
 ments that had been made were adequate to the unex-
 pected contingency. The hostility of Holkar was an
 occurrence upon which anticipation was less at fault. The
 inefficiency of the Government of the State was matter of
 universal notoriety, and the predominating influence of
 the military leaders was likely to compel it to warfare.
 Their interests were involved; they were a part of the
 predatory system.

Whatever, therefore, might have been thought of the
 disproportion between the magnitude of the original pre-
 parations, and the objects for which they were originally
 designed, events vindicated in a remarkable manner the
 wisdom and foresight with which the Marquis of Hastings
 had adopted so extensive a scale. Contingencies which
 were unforeseen, as well as those which had been antici-
 pated, were fully provided for, and not only had the
 predatory hordes been extirpated, but the princes who
 came forward in their support had shared their downfall.
 Every object that could have been proposed had been

triumphantly achieved, and a single campaign had totally changed the political aspect of Hindustan. The extent of the transformation will be best understood when we shall have completed the narrative of military operations.

BOOK II. they retreated before the southern progress of the Brah-
 CHAP. IX. manical Hindus. In the middle portion of this line, the
 1818. hills sink down to their lowest elevations, and they accordingly afford the most practicable routes from the Dekhin to Hindustan, and are the seats of several populous and flourishing towns; but the country on the east and west presents a succession of hills, of greater, although not very lofty height, which are rendered difficult and dangerous of access, by dense and insalubrious thickets, amidst which existence is secure only to the beasts of the forest, or the scarcely tamer human beings whom habit has fortified against the pestiferous vapours by which their haunts are best protected against the encroachments of more civilised tribes. The most eastern of these hills, from the confines of the British possessions to the borders of Berar, are the loftiest and most inaccessible, and much of the country is even yet unexplored. They are tenanted by various barbarous races, of whom the principal are the Koles, the Khonds, and the Gonds, living in villages among the forests, under their own chiefs; practising, in some places, a limited agriculture, but more usually subsisting on the produce of their cattle, the gleanings of the chase, or the wild fruits, herbs, and grain, which are the spontaneous growth of the thickets. The want of wholesome nutriment is in some measure compensated by the use of fiery spirits, to which the people are immoderately addicted. They are as scantily clothed as fed, and are armed chiefly with bows and arrows, large knives, and occasionally with matchlocks. Although sometimes professing to respect the few ignorant Brahmans who may have settled among them, this is not universally the case, and they cannot be said to follow the Brahmanical religion. The objects of their rude worship, which is commonly sanguinary, and sometimes comprises human victims, are local divinities, as the Deity of the Earth, or the presiding Genii over certain mountain-peaks; or shapeless blocks of wood or stone, occasionally dignified with denominations borrowed from the Hindu Pantheon—particularly with the name of Siva, and his wife Parvati: in some few places, also, Mahadeo, in his ordinary type, seems to have been adopted as one of their gods. The Koles, called in some

places also Lurka Koles,¹ are found principally in Sirguja and Sambhalpur; the Khands on the borders of Cuttack and Ganjam. The Gonds are still more widely extended, and spread from the western and southern limits of Bahar to those of Bundelkhand and Berar, and for some distance along the valley of the Nerbudda. Towards the western extremity of the ranges, the hills and forests are occupied by the Bhils,² a race similar in their general habits and character to those which have been mentioned, but associating more freely with their civilised neighbours, and therefore somewhat less barbarous. The same familiarity with civilisation had, however, fostered other propensities, and the Bhils had learned to lay waste the cultivated lands in their vicinity, or levy a tax upon the villagers as the price of their forbearance. These barbarians occupied chiefly the rugged country between the Tapti and the Nerbudda, spreading both to the south of the former, and

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¹ Of the Koles, or Lurka Koles, little authentic information has been published, and that little has appeared in ephemeral publications. According to Lieutenant Blunt, he met with Koles near the river Son, on the eastern confines of Rewa, while all the mountain tribes, from the northern limits of Rattenpur, towards the confines of Berar and Hyderabad, between them and the Mahanadi, he calls Gonds.—Journey from Chunar to Yertnakudam, Asiatic Researches, vol. vii. Mr. Colebrooke, in his Journey from Mirzapur to Nagpur, describes Koles, Gonds, and other tribes, on much the same line of route.—As. Ann. Reg. for 1806, vol. viii. "The Alpine region of Orissa, comprising the central ridge, the lofty plateau, and the inner valleys of the chain of Ghats, with the great tracts of forest by which they are surrounded, has been occupied from the earliest historical periods by three races, the Koles, the Khonds, and the Souras,—according to tradition, the original occupants, not only of this portion, but of the greater part of the Orissa."—Macpherson's Report on the Khonds. How far these races are allied or distinct, has not been determined by the only test now available, that of their language. Some tolerably copious vocabularies of the Khond language are given in the sixth and seventh volumes of the Journal of the Madras Literary Society, but I am not aware if any of the languages of the Koles or Gonds have been published. Of these races, the Gonds seem to be most widely spread; occupying the interior mountains from the confines of Bahar and Orissa to the south-western limits of Bundelkhand and the valley of the Nerbudda.—Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, 1842, vol. ii. p. 1, 311. In three districts of the Nerbudda territories, the Gond population is considered to be much underrated at 180,000.—Ibid. 311. Sir J. Malcolm also mentions the existence of Gonds between Bagli and Mandaleswar. See also Jenkin's Report on Nagpur for the Gond tribes of the eastern portions of the province. Koles and Gonds are named in early Sanscrit works, the latter are found in the Arara Kosha.

² Sir J. Malcolm has given an account of the Bhils in his Central India, vol. i. 517. According to him they are a distinct race from any other Indian tribe, but this requires to be established by a comparison of their dialects with those of the other mountaineers. Their own traditions bring them from the north, the borders of Jodhpur. In Sanscrit works of the tenth and eleventh centuries, we find Bhils inhabiting the country between Bahar and Bundelkhand, the present site of the Koles and Gonds—an additional reason for considering them to be allied.

BOOK II. north of the latter river, into Kandesh, and the territories
 CHAP. IX. of the Peshwa and Nizam on the one hand, and Nimaur
 1818. and Malwa on the other. At an early date, some of the

Bhils migrated into the plains in search of subsistence, and earned it by acting in subservience to the village authorities, as a rural police; serving as watchmen in the villages, and patrolling the roads. They received an equivalent in money or in grain, and this they came to consider as their indisputable right. In the latter days of disorder, their connexion with the Government officers had been dissolved, and many acts of mutual offence had transformed them from guardians of life and property, into their most dangerous assailants. The Bhils of the plains had been joined by recruits from the hills, and cultivation and commerce were almost annihilated by their depredations.

Upon Trimbak's escape from captivity, he sought security, as we have seen, in the vicinity of the Bhil settlements, and found among them ready partisans. The licence to plunder with which he requited their services was too agreeable to their habits to be relinquished when their leader was obliged to fly to the east, and their predatory incursions were continued for some time after his expulsion. The movements of the Peshwa left the British functionaries no opportunity to attend to minor evils, but as soon as any peril from that cause ceased to be apprehended, active measures were adopted by Captain Briggs, the political agent in Kandesh, and by Sir John Malcolm, in Malwa, for the protection of the districts under their control, against the irruptions of the Bhils.

The unhealthiness, as well as the ruggedness of the tracts in which the villages of the mountain Bhils were situated, rendered it impossible to undertake any operations against them on an extensive scale, or for a continuous period. Small detachments were, however, sent occasionally into the hills, which were in general successful, burning the Hattas, or villages of the mountaineers, killing many of the men, and capturing their families and their chiefs. Troops were also posted along the skirts of the hills to check their inroads, and cut off the supplies which they were accustomed to procure from the plains. At the same time, the chiefs were invited to come in and resume the police duties which they had formerly dis-

charged, upon the assurance that their claims should be equitably investigated, and those for which precedent could be established should be allowed.¹ Many of them accepted the conditions, and although, in some instances, the engagements into which they entered were not held sacred, and travellers and merchants were still robbed and murdered, yet the greater number adhered to their pledge; and as prompt punishment followed the perpetration of violence, a salutary terror confirmed their peaceable disposition, and rendered them even willing instruments in the apprehension of the refractory.² This object was further promoted by the introduction of the policy which had long proved effective in Bengal, in respect to the wild tribes of the Rajmahal hills. A Bhil militia, disciplined and commanded by British officers, was substituted for the disorderly gangs, headed by their own Nayaks; and the same men who were the scourge and dread of the districts contiguous to their forests were trained to guard the labours of the farmer, and to guide the traveller and the merchant in safety along the road.³

The military operations which it became necessary to undertake against the Gonds, partook more of the character of systematic warfare, as they grew out of political occurrences, and were required for the accomplishment of a political object, — the suppression of the adherents of the fugitive Raja of Nagpur, and his seizure or expulsion.

When Apa Saheb effected his escape from his escort, in

¹ Elphinstone's Report on Poona.—Extracts from the Records, iv. p. 141.

² Nadir Sing, a Bhil chief of great notoriety, had been induced, partly by threats and partly by rewards, to promise conformity to the British system. After some time he violated his engagements, and plundered and put to death some inoffensive travellers; an atrocity that required exemplary punishment. At the time when his guilt was established, he was on a visit to some of his kindred for the purpose of celebrating the marriage of his son; an order was immediately sent to the chiefs with whom he was, to apprehend and send him to the British functionary. Troops were ready to enforce the order, but their presence was unnecessary. He was seized by his own associates and sent to Sir J. Malcolm, by whom he was sentenced to imprisonment for life at Alahabad. His son was allowed to succeed to his authority. "No event," says Sir J. Malcolm, "was ever more conducive to the tranquillity of a country than this act of justice."—Central India, i. 524. As an instance of Bhil habits, as well as of the liberality of his captors, Nadir Sing was allowed, during his captivity, a bottle of brandy every four days.—MSS.

³ There are several Bhil corps in the service of the Company. Under the Bengal Presidency are three, the Mewar, Nimaur, and Malwa corps; collectively about one thousand one hundred foot, and one hundred and twenty horse. There is also a Bhil corps in Kandesh.

BOOK II. the middle of May, he fled to Harai, a petty state in the
 CHAP. IX. Nerbudda valley, governed by Chain Sah, a powerful and
 1818. ambitious Gond chieftain, who had usurped the chiefship
 from his nephew while a minor, and had established his
 authority not only over Harai, but several of the adjacent
 districts. His power extended throughout the Mahadeo
 hills, a detached cluster, lying on the south of the river,
 and to the right of the main road from Nagpur to Ho-
 sainabad, at about an equal distance, or eighty miles from
 either. Within this circuit was a temple of celebrity,
 dedicated to Mahadeo, whence the name of the hills, which
 at certain seasons was a place of great resort as an object
 of pilgrimage, and the sanctity of which was, no doubt,
 considered by Apa Sahab as a sanctuary from pursuit. A
 much more effective protection was afforded by the thickets
 which spread over the hills, and which could not be pene-
 trated with impunity during the rainy season, now about
 to commence. Here the Raja was at leisure to devise
 measures for the annoyance of his enemies, if not for the
 recovery of his power, and found a ready auxiliary in the
 restless and turbulent Gond. Many other chiefs, profess-
 ing themselves to be vassals of Berar, also joined the Raja;
 and the Mahratta soldiers, Pindaris, and Arab mercenaries,
 who had been cast adrift by the dispersion of the regular
 troops of Poona and Nagpur, either repaired to the Maha-
 deo hills, or concentrated in different parts of the sur-
 rounding country, and carried on a war of posts against
 the British detachments. Their numbers were exag-
 gerated, but they occasionally acted in bodies of three or
 four thousand, and the aggregate in arms could not have
 been much less than twenty thousand, so easy was it at
 this period to collect armed bands around every standard
 which led the way to confusion and plunder.

Although it was indispensably necessary to postpone an
 attack in force upon Apa Sahab's head-quarters, until a
 more favourable period, yet the equally imperious neces-
 sity of protecting the country from desolation, and of
 checking the extent of the rising in the Raja's favour,
 rendered it impossible to avoid exposing the troops to the
 harassing services of desultory hostilities at an inclement
 season; and detachments were accordingly stationed in
 various parts of the valley contiguous to the hills, from

the several divisions of Colonel Adams at Hosainabad, Lieutenant-Colonel Scott at Nagpur, and Brigadier-General Watson at Sagar. Their distribution and movements counteracted, in a great measure, the objects of the enemy; but the organisation of the latter, their knowledge of the country, and the countenance and assistance which they received from the natives and from the civil functionaries of the Mahratta Government, enabled them at first to elude the attacks of the British, and even to gain some advantages over them. As the contest was prolonged, the troops became more manageable, the country better known, and the insurgents suffered severe retaliation.

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The first affair that took place was calculated to give confidence to the Raja's partisans. A body of Arabs, after assembling at Mail Ghat, on the Tapti river, advanced to the town of Maisdi, and took possession of it. In order to dislodge and disperse them, Captain Sparkes was detached, on the 18th of July, from Hosainabad to Baitul, with two companies of the 10th Bengal Native infantry. He was followed on the two following days by stronger detachments, but without waiting for their junction, Captain Sparkes pushed forward, and on the 20th, encountered a party of horse, the van of the enemy's force. They retreated, but only to fall back on the main body, consisting of two thousand Mahratta horse, and fifteen hundred Arab and Hindustani foot. Taking post upon the edge of a ravine, Captain Sparkes checked, for some time, the enemy's advance, but when they had crossed the ravine in considerable masses, retreated to a hill, where his men again maintained their ground until their ammunition was expended, and many, with Captain Sparkes, had been killed. The enemy then rushed upon them in overwhelming numbers, and put nearly the whole to death. A few wounded Sipahis contrived to escape, and eight others, who had been left to guard the baggage, effected a timely retreat.

To remedy the ill effects of this disaster, Major Macpherson was sent to take the command at Baitul, and reinforcements under Captain Newton and Major Cumming were immediately despatched from Hosainabad. Captain Hamilton was sent from Nagpur to superintend the country about Deogerh, and was followed by Captain

BOOK II. Pedlar with reinforcements. On the north and north-east
CHAP. IX. a division was thrown forward from Jabalpur. A corps of
1818. Rohilla horse was distributed along the northern skirts
of the Mahadeo hills, and Salábat Khan of Elichpur, on
the south-east, was called upon for his contingent. Brigadier-General Doveton also moved from Jalna; but his march was delayed by the inclemency of the weather, and the impassable state of the roads and rivers. The troops were exposed to incessant rain and frequent storms, and soon began to suffer in their health. At the Gawilgerh pass the whole of the tents were blown down by a violent gale. Their advance was, therefore, painful and tedious, and after frequent halts, and leaving behind the artillery and heavy luggage, it was not until the middle of September that the force was concentrated at Elichpur.

Until the troops could be assembled in sufficient strength, the partisans of the Raja continued their successful career. A small party of Sipahis, posted at Shahpur, was surprised and destroyed by a Gond Raja, and in the beginning of August, the enemy gained possession of the town of Multai, chiefly through the connivance of the civil authorities. To the eastward, the Gonds and Arabs occupied Lanji, Compta, Ambagerh, and other places, and advanced to within forty miles of the capital, where much agitation prevailed, and a conspiracy against the young Raja was detected. The leaders were punished; and to repel the advancing insurgents, Captain Gordon, with a further portion of the subsidiary force, was sent from Nagpur. Major Cumming was directed to recover Multai—a service which he executed at the end of the month—the garrison evacuating the town and fort. Light detachments, under Captain Newton and Lieutenant Ker, overtook parties of the fugitives, and put numbers to the sword. In like manner, the places to the eastward were soon retaken. Compta, which was defended by a stockade with a ditch and a small fort, was carried by assault, in which six hundred of the garrison perished. Ambagerh was taken by escalade, and Pouri by storm, by another detachment from Nagpur, commanded by Major Wilson. Other places were recovered, and the enemy were driven from all their posts upon the plain in this direction. Important successes were also gained in other quarters. A

party at Burday, about five hundred strong, was attacked by Major Bowen, with a squadron of cavalry and one hundred light infantry, and three hundred of the number were slain. A like party was destroyed at Jiva-gerhi by Lieutenant Cruickshanks, with a detachment of one hundred and eighty infantry, fifty of the 7th Bengal cavalry, and eighty Rohilla horse. A vigorous effort by Chain Sah, at the head of two thousand Gonds and Mahrattas, to gain possession of Chauragerh, was checked by the gallantry of a native officer and thirty men, its slender garrison, until the arrival of a detachment under Lieutenants Brandon and Bacon; when the Gonds were defeated and driven off with heavy loss. By the end of September, operations began to spread into the hills. Captain Newton, with the 2nd battalion of the 12th Bengal infantry, a company of the 1st battalion of the 23rd, and a squadron of the 7th native cavalry, marching from Baitul, followed the flying Gonds to their villages, burnt many of them, and captured or killed their defenders. Several of the chiefs fell; among whom was one who had headed the party which put to death the Sipahis at Shahpur. The villagers at several places had also been engaged in the action with Captain Sparkes, as appeared from the dresses, arms, and accoutrements, of the 10th infantry, which were found in their huts, and their comrades exulted in the vengeance which they had inflicted, and the trophies which they had recovered.

With the commencement of 1819, the system of detached and desultory war was discontinued, and was succeeded by a concerted plan for an attack upon the head-quarters of Apa Sahab. With this view the detachments were, for the most part, called in. A concentrated portion of the Nagpur subsidiary force marched from Nagpur to Multai. Colonel Adams, with his main body moved from Hosainabad upon Pachmari, and Major O'Brien, from Jabalpur, upon Harai. Brigadier-General Doveton advanced from the south-west, to cover the road to Jilpi-amner, a fortified town, of which the siege detained him several days. Major O'Brien, on his march, fell in with Chain Sah, defeated and took him prisoner. Parties from the Nagpur and Hosainabad divisions penetrated into every recess of the hills, and Colonel Adams arrived at

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BOOK II. and parts of his dress torn and stained with blood, were
 CHAP. IX. found, and, finally, his head was discovered. These re-
 ——— mains were readily identified by several of his followers
 1819. who had been captured, and by his son, who, at the same
 time, gave himself up to Sir John Malcolm. Such was
 the end which the Pindari had hazarded rather than sub-
 mit to a tranquil life, shackled by the restraints of
 dependance.

The attempt of Apa Saheb to take shelter in Asir-gerh, had been anticipated by the British Government, and in order to prevent its success, Sindhia had been required to place the fort in the temporary occupation of a British force. This arrangement had been proposed at the beginning of the war, and had been ostensibly acceded to; but as no emergency arose which rendered its fulfilment peculiarly expedient, and as it was probable that Sindhia's orders for the delivery of the fort, even if issued in a spirit of sincerity, would be disregarded, and that it would be necessary to lay siege to Asir-gerh, to ensure its occupation, it was judged advisable to refrain from insisting upon the transfer of the fortress. Now, however, a contingency had arisen which admitted of no longer hesitation. It was of the highest importance to exclude Apa Saheb from a stronghold, in the strength of which he might find the means of renewing a protracted resistance, and reanimating the hopes of his partisans; and it was accordingly resolved to call upon Sindhia to execute the original stipulation. Dowlat Rao affected cheerful compliance, and despatched orders to Jeswant Rao Lar to give up his fort to Sir John Malcolm, and repair to Gwalior. He followed up his orders by sending officers to enforce obedience, and declared himself prepared to unite his troops with those of the British in the siege, if the place was not promptly surrendered. Jeswant Rao pretended a like readiness to obey, but frivolous pleas were devised from day to day to defer his departure to Gwalior, until the contingency against which it was intended to provide, actually occurred, and Apa Saheb was admitted into Asir-gerh. It was obvious that Jeswant Rao had no intention of resigning his fort, and that Sindhia either connived at his recusancy, or was unable to enforce compliance with his orders. The reduction of the place was necessary to vindicate the British

power, and to deprive an unavowed enemy of the means of causing mischief. By firing also upon the British troops when in pursuit of Cheetoo and the followers of the Nagpur Raja, as well as by the reception of the Raja himself, Jeswant Rao had committed overt acts of hostility, which it was impossible to leave without rebuke. Sir John Malcolm, therefore, and General Doveton were instructed to employ the resources at their disposal in the siege of Asir-gerh.

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The fortress of Asir-gerh stood upon a detached rock, about two miles from the end of one of the chief ranges of the Sathpura hills, commanding one of the great passes from the Dekhin: It consisted of two forts, a lower and an upper; the former occupying the western extremity of the rock, opposite to the Petta, or walled town beneath it, from which alone an ascent into the fortress was practicable: on every other side the perpendicular scarp of the rock defied assault, and the ascent from the town was strongly fortified. The approach from the lower to the upper fort, which crowned the summit of the rock, at an elevation of seven hundred and fifty feet above the plain, was by steep flights of stone steps, which led in succession through five gateways of solid masonry. There were some breaches in the face of the rock, especially on the north and east, but the chasms had been built up with substantial walls. The top of the rock was surmounted by thick and lofty ramparts, and by large cavaliers carrying guns of immense calibre.¹ The country on the north and south sides was generally level, but on the east and west was intersected by deep ravines, and crossed by ranges of hills, connected with the Sathpura range.

Brigadier-General Doveton, having been reinforced with troops and ordnance from Kandesh and Hosainabad,² advanced to the vicinity of Asir late in February, while Sir John Malcolm moved close to the fortress with the forces which he had collected at Mhow,³ and with which he had

¹ One of these, an iron gun carrying a ball of three hundred and eighty-four pounds, was believed by the natives capable of lodging a shot at Burhanpur, fourteen miles distant.—Lake.

² His force consisted of one troop of European Horse Artillery, three regiments, the 6th Bengal, and 2nd and 7th Madras N.C., the Madras European regiment, the 15th regiment Bengal N.I., 1st batt. 7th, 1st batt. 12th, 2nd batt. 13th, 2nd batt. 14th, 2nd batt. 17th Madras N.I., and details of Bengal and Madras Pioneers, with an extensive battering train.

³ These were details of European Horse Artillery, camel howitzer battery, 2nd regiment Madras N.C., 2nd batt, 6th, and 1st batt. 14th Madras N.C., 1st

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been employed in settling some disturbed districts on the Guzerat frontier, in the beginning of the year. As soon as it was obvious, that compulsory means alone would obtain possession of Asirgerh, General Doveton's division took up its ground on the south of the fort, while that of Sir John Malcolm was posted on the north. On the 18th of March, operations were commenced by the advance of a column from either division upon the Petta, which was carried with little loss, the enemy retreating into the lower fort. Posts were established and batteries constructed in the Petta, and a spirited sally of the enemy on the 20th having been repulsed, although with the loss of Lieutenant-Colonel Frazer of the Royal Scots, a practicable breach was made by the 21st, and the garrison retreated to the upper fort; but the explosion of a powder magazine attached to one of the batteries, emboldened them to return and resume the fire from the lower fort. It was soon silenced by the fire of the batteries. The charge of the Petta, and the prosecution of the siege on that side were made over to Sir John Malcolm, while General Doveton, with the principal part of the heavy ordnance, moved to the east front, as most favourable for the attack of the upper fort. By the 29th, both divisions were in full operation, and on the 30th preparations were made for storming the lower fort, when it was finally abandoned by the garrison and occupied by the assailants. On the eastern front the progress was necessarily slower, but by the 7th of April the defences were in so ruinous a condition, that Jeswant Rao despaired of the result, and after a conference with the British Generals consented to unconditional surrender. The garrison, composed chiefly of Arabs and Baluchis, marched out accordingly on the 29th; they were allowed to retain their shields and daggers and all private property, and were promised a conveyance to their native country. The loss of the garrison was less severe than that of the besiegers; the former having been sheltered by the nature of the ground. The latter had one officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Frazer, killed, and eleven wounded; the whole of

Grenadier regiment Bombay N. I., and 1st of the 8th ditto, with Pioneers. They were joined by two battalions Bengal N. I., 2nd batt. 1st, and 2nd batt. 13th, with artillery and heavy guns from Sagur.

the killed and wounded amounted to three hundred and thirteen. The reduction of a fortress of such high repute in native estimation as Asirgerh in so short a time, confirmed the impression which the success of the British arms had inspired throughout the campaign of the futility of opposition.

The capture of Asirgerh disclosed indisputable proofs of the insincerity of Dowlat Rao Sindhia; of his having sanctioned the contumacy of the Kiladar, and of his having contemplated affording shelter and succour to Baji Rao. A box of papers was seized containing letters, not only from the Peshwa and Apa Saheb, but others in Sindhia's own hand-writing, as was acknowledged subsequently by his ministers and himself, in which he directed that the fort should not be given over to the English, and that whatever orders might be received from the Peshwa they should be obeyed. As a punishment for this double dealing, it was determined to retain possession of Asirgerh and the district dependent upon it, and to communicate to Dowlat Rao the grounds of its detention. No further notice was deemed necessary, as the objects of the war had been accomplished, and allowance was made for the pardonable prepossession of the Mahratta chief in favour of his paramount lord. Dowlat Rao admitted the authenticity of the documents, but declared that they were intended only to make it appear that he wished to do something for the Peshwa's service, and that the tenor of any orders he might have sent was immaterial, as he knew well that Jeswant Rao would obey none but such as should be consistent with his own designs. He even admitted that he had written to Baji Rao to invite him to Gwalior, because he believed that his coming there was impossible. As an apology for this double duplicity, he merely pleaded in the figurative language which he frequently employed that it was natural for a man seeing a friend struggling in the water and crying for help, to stretch out his hands towards him, and to speak words of comfort, although he knew that he could give him no assistance. He was, however, evidently apprehensive of the consequences of his conduct, until time convinced him of the sincerity of the purposed forbearance of the British Government.

The capture of Asirgerh terminated the military move-

BOOK II. ments of the British armies, and most of the troops
 CHAP. IX returned to their stations in time of peace, having through-
 1819. out this supplementary campaign, as well as in the earlier
 progress of the war, distinguished themselves, as much
 by their cheerful endurance of hardship and privation, and
 of the labours which they had undergone, as by their
 steadiness and intrepidity in action.

We are now prepared to consider the results of the past transactions, as they affected the British Government, and the Native powers of India.

The acquisition of additional territory formed no part of the original objects for which the Marquis of Hastings took the field. The districts from which the Pindaris were expelled were restored to the princes by whom they had been granted, or from whom they had been usurped; and not a rood of land would have been annexed to the British possessions, had not the violence and treachery of the Mahratta chiefs exposed them to the loss of their dominions. It was evident that Baji Rao considered himself too deeply wronged ever to forgive, and no leniency towards him could appease his resentment. His deposal was necessary for the preservation of public tranquillity, and for the security of the British power; and it, therefore, became a question to whom his extensive authority should be intrusted. He had no children, and no hereditary claims were involved in his downfall. To have elevated the Raja of Satara in his place, would have been to invest a doubtful ally with the means of becoming a formidable enemy, and would have been a boon exceeding his reasonable expectations. It was doubted by the Governor-General whether the grant of a liberal Jagir would not have been an adequate provision for him, and the substitution of a principality, as recommended by the Resident on political considerations, was coupled with the condition of a subordinate rule over a circumscribed territory.¹ The country set apart for the Raja, was bounded by

¹ "Your Excellency's instructions left me the choice of giving him a Jagir or small sovereignty, and I was inclined to adopt the latter plan, for various reasons. At the time when I had to decide, the Mahrattas showed no disposition whatever to quit the Peshwa's standard, and it appeared not improbable that the dread of the complete extinction of their national independence, and still more, that of the entire loss of their means of subsistence, from the want of a government likely to employ them, would induce them to adhere to Baji Rao, that could never have been produced by affection for his person, or in-

the Nira on the north, the Krishna and Warna on the south, the Ghats on the west, and the district of Punderpur on the east; and was calculated to yield an annual revenue of about thirteen lakhs of rupees.¹ The remainder of the Peshwa's dominions, comprising an estimated area of fifty thousand square miles, and a population of four millions, was made an integral part of British India.

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The territory acquired by the British Government in the Dekhin, which had formerly acknowledged the authority of the Peshwa, comprised the province of Kandesh on the north; the country constituting that of the Mahrattas especially, comprising the districts of Ahmedabad and Poona, above the Ghats, and the Konkan on the west of the Ghats; and south of the Krishna, a portion of Canara, which had been formerly subjugated by the Mahrattas, and was, for the most part, divided among a number of feudatory chieftains, or Jagirdars, most of whom, although declining to act against the Peshwa, had either refrained from joining him, or had abandoned him at an early period, and were, consequently, permitted to retain their lands on the same tenures on which they held them under the Peshwa. The Konkan was added to the Bombay Presidency; the rest was placed under the authority of a Commissioner, assisted by five officers, including the political agent with the Raja of Satara, who, under the designation of collectors, discharged the supreme revenue and judicial duties. The arrangements adopted for the administration of the Mahratta territories were based upon the existing institutions, and which, when weeded from some glaring defects, were considered to be most acceptable to the people, and best suited to the prevailing condition of society. In the collection of the revenue, the chief principles laid down were to abolish the farming system, which had been carried to a ruinous extent under Baji Rao;² to levy the revenue according to the actual

terest in his cause. It therefore seemed expedient to remove these grounds of alarm, by the establishment of a separate government." — Letter from the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone to the Governor-General, Parl. Papers, Raja of Satara, Part I., p. 498.

¹ In the second year the net revenue amounted to nearly fifteen lakhs. — Treaty with the Raja of Satara, 25th Sept. 1819. Papers. Adm. of the Marquis of Hastings.

² The office of Mamlatdar, or Head Collector of a district, was put up to auction among the Peshwa's attendants, who were encouraged to bid high,

BOOK II. cultivation ; to make the assignments light ; to impose no
 CHAP. IX. new taxes ; and to abolish none, unless obviously ob-
 1819. noxious and unjust ; and above all, to make no innova-
 tions. In the administration of civil law, Panchayats were
 had recourse to, while criminal cases were investigated by
 the British functionaries in person : to them, also, was
 entrusted the principal personal superintendence of the
 police. In their mixed duties, they were assisted by the
 native officers, combining similar powers. The system
 worked well ; for although vast numbers of disorderly
 persons were thrown out of employment by the dispersion
 of the Peshwa's soldiery, the country speedily assumed a
 tranquil aspect, cultivation was extended, and trade re-
 vived ; and no attempt of any importance was made to
 re-establish a native government. The immediate conse-
 quence of the mal-administration of the revenue, as well
 as of the mischief caused by political and military events,
 was a considerable diminution of the revenue. The
 amount of this, at one time, under the Peshwa, had
 exceeded two crores of rupees, but the cessions demanded
 from him in June, 1817, and other circumstances, had re-
 duced it to one crore and ten lakhs, of which, not above
 fifty lakhs came into the treasury of the Peshwa. This
 sum it was expected to realize, and a surplus of thirty
 lakhs was calculated on, but after the first twelve months,
 the revenue was found to amount to but seventy-six lakhs,
 while the charges and assignments, exclusive of the pen-
 sions to the Peshwa and his brother, extended to seventy-
 two, leaving, therefore, the new possessions a financial loss.
 This, however, was but a temporary disappointment, and

and sometimes disgraced if they showed a reluctance to enter on this sort of speculation. Next year this operation was renewed, and the district was generally transferred to a higher bidder. The Mamlatdar had no time for inquiry, and no motive for forbearance ; he let the district out to under farmers who repeated the operation until it reached the Patel. If this officer farmed his own village, he became the absolute master of every one in it. If he refused to farm it at the rate proposed, the case was perhaps worse, as the Mamlatdar's own officers undertook to levy the sum with less knowledge and mercy. In either case, the actual state of the cultivation was little regarded ; a man's means of payment, not the land he occupied, was the scale by which he was assessed. No moderation was shown in levying the sum fixed, and every pretext for fine and forfeiture, every means of rigour and confiscation were employed to squeeze the utmost out of the people before the time when the Mamlatdar was to give up his charge.—Elphinstone; Report of the territories conquered from the Peshwa, Calcutta, 1824 ; also Selections from the Records, iv. 189.

the improvement of the country, with the diminution of the expenses, rendered the acquisitions in the Dekhin as valuable in a financial as they were in a political point of view.

By the treaty with Holkar, the districts in Kandesh and the Sathpura hills, as well as those in the Dekhin, which were intermixed with the territories of the Peshwa and Nizam, were ceded to the British. They were not of great extent or value, but derived consideration from the manner in which they were scattered among territories subject to other princes, involving the inconvenient proximity of different independent jurisdictions. The conflict of claims arising out of such juxtaposition, was congenial to Mahratta policy, which hoped, from such collision, some contingent advantage. Such objects were of course foreign to the system now adopted; and, although some indulgence was shown in regard to places recommended by peculiar considerations, the districts of Holkar,¹ in the Dekhin, were amalgamated with those in their vicinity.

In the engagements concluded with Sindhia, no territorial cession was originally contemplated; but those districts which had belonged to the Peshwa, and had devolved on the British, either by cession or conquest, and which had been usurped by Sindhia or his officers, in Malwa, were reclaimed: the restoration of all usurpations from princes under British protection was also insisted on. It was further found desirable to require various exchanges of territory between Sindhia and the British government and its allies, for the purpose of establishing a more compact and better defined boundary. In this manner, several districts on the confines of Bhopal and Bundelkhand were annexed to them, and Ajmir was transferred to British authority. The possession of this province was recommended by political considerations, as its central position afforded ready communication with the Rajput states, and held in check the western confines of Sindhia's dominions, and the newly created principality of Amir Khan. Its

¹ The right of Holkar, as Des-mukh or head of a district, to villages, or parts of villages, or to certain payments or perquisites, presents a characteristic picture of the intricate and incompatible arrangements common under the Mahratta system. A statement of his claims is therefore given in the Appendix.

BOOK II. financial value was inconsiderable,¹ and its sequestration
 CHAP. IX. was no loss to Dowlat Rao, as the whole revenue had been
 1819. appropriated by his officer, Bapu Sindhia, by whom it had
 been held for some time past. Upon the whole, Sindhia
 was a gainer by these exchanges,² although his duplicity
 and treachery ill-deserved such favour.

The acquisitions next in extent and importance to those made from the Peshwa were derived from the territories of the Raja of Nagpur. They comprised the eastern portion of the valley of the Nerbudda, on either bank of the river, extending north and east to the district of Sagar, which, as we have seen, had been also taken possession of by the British, and to the borders of Bundelkhand; and on the west and south to the confines of Berar. In the latter province were ceded Gawilgerh and Narnala, with Akote and the contiguous districts. The government of the Raja's reserved territories was, as has been noticed, exercised, with the entire concurrence of the young Prince's nearest relatives and of the Regent Bai, by the British Resident, assisted by British officers as superintendents of the main division of the Principality, to whom the collection of the revenue, and maintenance of public order were entrusted, and who were instructed to preserve the native system and establishments unchanged, except in the correction of gross and palpable abuses. Under this system, the principality of Nagpur progressively improved in resources and prosperity until its final restoration to the Raja.³ The territories separated from it were placed under the direct authority of the Government of Bengal. Sambhalpur, and the wild country spreading to Bengal and Orissa, hitherto dependent upon Nagpur, were likewise ceded, and a line of communication from Bengal to the Mahratta territories on the west, was thus completed.⁴ The management of the district of Sagar

¹ In the first year of its occupation the revenue was less than a lakh and a half of rupees. Four years afterwards it exceeded four lakhs. The population was also quadrupled.—MS. Records.

² The revenue of the territory ceded by Sindhia was estimated at six lakhs, those made to him at nearly seven.—MS. Records.

³ Report on the territories of the Raja of Nagpur, by Richard Jenkins, Esq., printed in Calcutta, 1827.

⁴ These cessions were demanded in the conditional agreement entered into with Apa Saheb, 6th January, 1818, but the agreement was annulled by his flight, and was not finally renewed until December, 1828, when the Raja attained his majority. In the mean time the administration of the whole being

was united to that of Bundelkhand. The Nerbudda valley was subjected to the authority of a civil Commissioner, whose administration was based upon the same principles that had been adopted in the Poona territory, and who combined in his own person the chief revenue and judicial, as well as political, functions; having under him several assistants, entrusted with similar powers, but subject to the superintendence of the Commissioner. The assessment of the revenue, the distribution of civil justice, and the regulations of the police, were founded upon the institutions and usages of the people, but modified by the spirit of the British regulations. Subsequently Sagar was united to the Nerbudda territories; but the character of the administration long remained unaltered. The mountain countries to the eastward were governed by an agent; especially deputed for the purpose: and with some other dependencies of Nagpur, which, although not alienated, were managed by British officers for some years after the Raja's exercise of authority, were generally under the control of the resident of Nagpur. The revenues of the cessions from Nagpur were intended to provide funds for the payment of the seven and a half lakhs, the cost of the subsidiary force, and to be a compensation for the contingent force which the Raja was bound to maintain, the expense of which was estimated at nine and a half. The produce of the ceded territory approached nearly to this amount, realising, after some years' occupation, inclusively of Gondwana, about sixteen and a half lakhs of rupees, levied from a population of one million, three hundred and forty thousand persons. Conjointly with Sagar, the increase of British subjects in this quarter might be called two millions, paying a revenue of two millions and a half of rupees.¹

in the hands of the Resident, the terms of the agreement had been acted on and the territories occupied.—See Treaty with the Raja, 13th December, 1826, Com. House of Commons, 1832, App. Pol. 620. The whole area of the ceded territory was estimated at 70,000 square miles.—Jenkins's Report on Nagpur.

¹ The following are the returns of 1827, when the Sagar and Nerbudda territories were united under one agency, and divided into three principal districts, viz. 1. Jabalpur, &c.; 2. Hosainabad, &c.; 3. Sagar:

NERBUDDA.

	JABALPUR.	HOSAINABAD.	SAGAR.	TOTAL.
Revenue . .	7,56,000	8,85,000	9,81,000	26,16,000
Population . .	7,20,000	6,25,000	5,60,000	19,05,000

The revenues of the Nerbudda districts are stated by Mr. Prinsep as having

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Although not immediate annexations to the British territories, yet as arising out of the war, we may notice the new arrangements made with the Nizam and the Gaekwar. As usual, districts subject to the Mahratta princes, especially to the Raja of Nagpur and the Peshwa, were intermixed inconveniently with the dominions of Hyderabad. Such of these as had fallen to the British, it was proposed to exchange for territories belonging to the Nizam, situated beyond his general frontier, giving him the advantage, as a recompense for the services of his subsidiary force, and his other contingents during the war. The adjustment was delayed, through the difficulty of obtaining an accurate valuation of the districts to be exchanged, and by the reluctance of the Nizam's ministers to admit the validity of any of the Peshwa's claims, to which the British government had succeeded. A treaty was at last concluded in 1822, by which the Nizam was released from all claims and demand on account of the late Peshwa, and received territories belonging to that prince and the Raja of Nagpur and Holkar, yielding a revenue of ten lakhs of rupees a year; in return for which he relinquished his lands between the Sena and Tumbhadra rivers, and his rights and possessions within the district of Ahmednagar, the whole being estimated at little more than four lakhs. He also engaged to give up a small tract to the Raja of Nagpur, and to continue the payments made by the Peshwa to certain of his dependants leviable from the revenues of the territory transferred to the Nizam.¹

As great advantages were secured to the Gaekwar by the treaty with the Peshwa, in June 1816, in which the claims of the latter for tribute, and for his share of the farm of Ahmedabad, were abandoned;² and as the opportunity

been in 1818-19, fourteen and a half lakhs; in 1819-20, twenty-one lakhs, and as having averaged twenty-three lakhs (say £230,000), during the three following years. The Sagar revenue rose in the same time from eight to nearly eleven lakhs, forming a total of thirty-four lakhs; but the first assessments on the land were too high, and the diminution made, with the gradual recovery from temporary depression, left them at the period here referred to, 1839-40, as stated, twenty-six lakhs.

¹ Treaty with the Nizam, 12th December, 1822. — *Treaties with Native Princes*, printed by order of Parliament, 1825.

² The annual gain to the Gaekwar was estimated at something more than twenty-two and a half lakhs of rupees (£222,500), viz :

was considered favourable for imposing an additional burden upon the finances of Guzerat, in the shape of an augmented subsidy, that Prince was, therefore, required to increase the subsidiary force, by a battalion of infantry, and two regiments of cavalry, and to provide the requisite funds. It was at first proposed that they should be supplied by the transfer of Kattiwar, but as this was objected to by the court of Baroda, it was finally arranged that the Gaekwar should cede all the benefit which he had obtained from the perpetual farm of the Peshwa's territories subject to the city of Ahmedabad, in perpetuity to his allies. Some exchanges of territory were at the same time effected.¹

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These were the principal territorial additions which were the results of the war, and which brought with them a valuable accession of revenue and population. They were still more important in a political respect. Besides the actual extension of territory, they opened the whole of India to British access. Malwa, Rajputana, and a great part of the Dekhin had been almost closed against the British before the war, and the armies by which they were traversed beheld countries previously unknown. The dominions of the Mahratta chiefs interposed an extensive but compact barrier, separating the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, from each other, and from the principalities of Rajputana. This barrier was now broken down, and the intervening country pierced in every direction by British districts and dependencies, which enabled the Government at once to exert its influence or employ its power, whenever either might be required for

Tribute relinquished	-	-	-	-	-	11,50,000
Ahmedabad farm	-	-	-	-	-	9,75,000
Interest of a loan raised to pay off part of the debt to the Peshwa	-	-	-	-	-	1,00,000

Rupees 22,25,000

The average revenue of Guzerat for the three years, 1813-16, had amounted to 71,90,000 rupees, and the expenses to 62,70,000 rupees, leaving a surplus of above eight lakhs per year. The debt to the Company had been liquidated, and it was expected that all other encumbrances would be discharged in two years more.—Letter from Bombay, August, 1817. These expectations were disappointed, as we shall hereafter have occasion to observe.

¹ Supplement to the Defensive Treaty with the Gaekwar, 6th November, 1817, ratified by the Governor-General, 12th March, 1818, also additional article modifying exchanges and fixing the value of Ahmedabad at 12,61,969 rupees, 6th November, 1818.

BOOK II. dependants. At the time of the conquest of Malwa by the
 CHAP. IX. Mahrattas, they either expelled from their possessions
 the Rajput chiefs, among whom the country was divided,
 1819. or, when those chiefs were too powerful, were satisfied to
 require from them an acknowledgment of allegiance, and
 payment of an annual tribute. The weaker Rajas, who
 were despoiled of their patrimonies, fled to the hills and
 forests, and, collecting armed followers, ravaged the dis-
 tricts of which they had been dispossessed. Unable to
 arrest their predatory incursions by force, the Mahratta
 rulers submitted to purchase their forbearance, and granted
 them fixed assignments on every village within their
 reach, on condition that they desisted from plunder. The
 assignments were, in general, of small amount, but they
 were irregularly paid, and still more irregularly levied, and
 afforded a constant excuse for rapine and disorder. The
 number of claimants of this order, termed *Grasias*, from
 the nature of their demands,¹ was considerable. The more
 powerful Rajas were much fewer, but there were several
 tributary to Holkar, or Sindhia, or to both. In the gen-
 eral anarchy which had prevailed, their lands had been laid
 waste, and their means of discharging their tributes had
 been greatly reduced. But the means of enforcing pay-
 ment had been equally enfeebled, and long arrears had
 been suffered to accumulate, the liquidation of which was
 a fruitful subject of contention between them and their
 superior lords. By the intervention of the British func-
 tionaries, both descriptions of claims were adjusted. The
 assignments of the *Grasias* were commuted for fixed pay-
 ments by the public treasury, and arrangements were en-
 tered into for the gradual discharge of the arrears, and the
 regular payment of the stipulated tribute of the dependent
 Rajas. In this manner the states of Jabua and Narsing-
 gerh, dependencies of Holkar, and those of Amjira, Ratlam,
 Silana, Sitamow, and others tributary to Sindhia, were
 made to contribute to the resources of the paramount
 power, while protected against its extortion by the inter-
 position of the British Residents.

• Little else occurred seriously to disturb the peaceable
 settlement of the Holkar state, although attempts were

¹ They were so termed from *Grás*, a monthful, or as much as may be put
 into the month at once.

made to dispute the title, and even the identity of the young Raja. The former had a claimant, with a preferable right, in the person of Hari Rao Holkar, the son of Etoji, the elder brother of Mulhar Rao, who was put to death by the Peshwa. The young man showed little inclination to dispute the pretensions of his cousin, but he was detained in easy confinement by the prudence of the minister. The attempt to contest the Raja's personal identity was attended with more trouble. It was asserted that the young Raja had fled alone from Mahidpur, and concealed himself in an unfrequented part of the country so effectually that he could not be found. As, however, the British refused to treat with any authority except the Raja, Tantia Jôg had provided for the occasion the supposititious prince who now bore the title. The story was well supported, and the appearance and deportment of the Pretender, gave it so much the air of probability, that several old servants of the family believed its authenticity. There was no difficulty in collecting troops—many of the disbanded soldiers of Holkar's armies were wandering about the neighbourhood, and were ready to join any cause which held out the promise of free quarters and unrestricted pillage. Active measures were, however, promptly adopted, and the insurrection was suppressed before it had attained maturity. Krishna, the pretended Mulhar Rao, was captured, and proved to be the adopted son of a member of the family, of the age of the Raja, and not unlike him in person. After a short confinement, he was set at liberty as not likely to be again formidable. With the exception of the occasional disturbances created by refractory dependants, the affairs of the Holkar state continued for several years to prosper, under the able administration of Tantia Jôg, and the support and advice of Mr. Wellesley, the Resident.

West of the territories of Holkar, extending towards Guzerat, are situated the two small states of Dhar and Dewas, the governments of kindred chiefs. Their ancestors were Rajputs of the Powar tribe, but they had migrated at an early period to the south, and had become naturalised as Mahrattas. Included among the Peshwa's officers, they obtained assignments of land and tributes in Malwa upon the Mahratta conquest; and, although their

BOOK II. possessions had been reduced to extreme insignificance by
 CHAP. X. dissensions among themselves, and the encroachments of
 1819. Sindhia, Holkar, and the other more powerful Mahratta
 leaders, they still retained a portion of their patrimony,
 and a place among the Mahratta princes of Malwa. Upon
 the advance of the British armies, they applied to be
 taken under protection, and, as part of the plan of effect-
 ing a settlement of Malwa, the application was, after some
 investigation, complied with. Allegiance, with military
 service on the one hand, and protection on the other, were
 the main conditions of the contract.¹ Dhar ceded to the
 British government its claims of tribute on the Rajput
 principalities of Banswar and Dungepur, and as security
 for a pecuniary loan, the province of Bairsia for five years.
 This district was eventually restored to Dhar.

The relations established with Sindhia have been already
 noticed. They continued unaltered, and Dowlat Rao
 seems to have learned to rely upon the friendly disposition
 of the British authorities, with some degree of confidence,
 although unable to divest himself wholly of suspicion of
 its ultimate designs against him. In his own language,
 although it might be possible for a man to become familiar
 with a tiger, and enter his cell without the fear of instant
 destruction, yet it would be difficult to remove all appre-
 hension from his mind that he might at last become the
 prey of the animal. The anticipation has not been falsified,
 although its verification was deferred. The actual conduct
 of his allies was, however, calculated to confirm his re-
 liance. The contingent, under British officers, performed
 services for Sindhia, which his other troops, perpetually in
 a state of mutiny and disorder, were unable to effect; re-
 covered for him the province of Gurra Kota, from which
 his officers had been expelled; and reduced to submission
 the chiefs Ajit Sing and Dhaukal Sing, who had succeeded
 to the rights and resolution of Jaysing of Raghugherh.
 The latter of these chiefs repeatedly foiled all attempts to
 prevent his incursions into the settled territories, and de-
 feated the detachments sent against him. He was at
 length taken by Captain Blacker, with part of the contin-
 gent, when a compromise was effected, by which the

¹ Treaty with the Raja of Dewas, 12th December, 1818. and with the Raja
 of Dhar, 10th January, 1819.

Khychwari chiefs recovered the town of Raghugherh, and were allowed pensions, in commutation of their other claims. The contingent was effective also in enforcing Sindhia's authority in a domestic quarrel. Patankar, the governor of his districts in Guzerat, having withdrawn from court, and carried with him his son, who had been betrothed to the Raja's daughter, the recovery of the bridegroom, as well as the preservation of his dependencies, were objects, for the realisation of which, the contingent was successfully employed. Sindhia had recourse also to the British government for assistance under the pecuniary difficulties by which he was constantly embarrassed. His own habits of life, and the expense of an armed rabble, useless in the altered condition of India, and at all times as formidable to those in whose service they were enlisted as to their enemies, occasioned a surplus expenditure, which left the prince at the mercy of the bankers and money-lenders of his court, and perpetuated the mismanagement of his territory, by the practice of payment of loans through assignments on the revenue. Still Sindhia preferred a struggle with his difficulties to a resignation of his independence; and, although he professed indifference as to what might become of his country after his death, he steadily persisted in declining to contract any subsidiary alliance.

A general agreement, stipulating for the co-operation of the Nawab of Bhopal with the British divisions in the part of Malwa contiguous to the principality, had been entered into at the commencement of the campaign. A formal compact was not executed until the principal events of the war had occurred. A treaty was then concluded, in which the Nawab acknowledged the supremacy of the British Government, and received the assurance of its protection. No tribute was imposed, but the Nawab agreed to furnish a contingent force of six hundred horse, and one thousand foot, whenever required; and to assist, in case of necessity, with all his troops. In requital of his services against the Pindaris, a valuable accession of territory was granted to him from the possessions of the Vinchur Kar, which had devolved upon the British; and, at a subsequent date, the fort of Islamnagar, obtained by exchange from Sindhia, was restored to Bhopal. This was

BOOK II. peculiarly grateful to the Nawab and his Mohammedan
 CHAP. X. subjects, as it was the first strong place acquired by Dost
 1817. Mohammed, the founder of the family, and was made his
 capital. It had been taken by Sindhia's predecessor by
 treachery, and the strength of the fortress rendered its
 recovery by force hopeless. It was situated within a short
 distance of Bhopal, and its occupation by a Mahratta gar-
 rison was a perpetual insult and annoyance. Its restora-
 tion was, therefore, a subject of national rejoicing to the
 Bhopal Pathans, and drew forth expressions of the warmest
 gratitude from Nazar Mohammed. There was no reason
 to question his sincerity ; but he did not live long enough
 to attest it by his acts, and his early death was attended
 by circumstances ill-adapted to secure the consolidation
 and prosperity of his principality. A few months after
 the conclusion of the treaty, Nawab Nazar Mohammed
 was killed by a pistol shot. He had retired to the interior
 apartments of his palace, in company with his infant
 daughter and his brother-in-law, Faujdar Khan, a boy but
 eight years of age. There were no grounds to suspect
 treason, except the relationship of the Begum and her
 brother to Ghaus Mohammed, whom Vizir Mohammed had
 virtually deposed ; and the affection of the Begum, and
 the tender years of the boy, as well as the circumstances
 under which the Nawab perished, satisfied the authorities,
 by whom a strict investigation was set on foot, that the pis-
 tol must have been accidentally fired by Faujdar Khan, in
 play with his brother-in-law.¹ Upon the death of the
 Nawab, the chief members of the family, and of the court,
 in the exercise of a privilege sanctioned by the usages of
 of the principality, elected, in concert with the British
 Resident, the son of Amir Mohammed, the elder brother
 of the Nawab, who had been debarred from the succes-
 sion by the will of Vizir Mohammed, and the exigency of
 the times, to which his character was unfitted. The suc-
 cession was restored to his son, but on the condition of
 his betrothal to the infant daughter the only child of
 Nazar Mohammed ; and that, during the minority of the
 parties, the government should be administered by the
 Begum, as Regent, aided by two of the principal members
 of the family, and the counsels of the Resident. Although

¹ Major Heuley, &c.—See Malcolm, Central India, i. 417.

CLASSES OF RAJPUT PRINCES.

I.

BOOK II.

CHAP. X.

1819.

the advance of Bhopal proved less rapid than had been anticipated by the sanguine expectations of Sir John Malcolm, it continued to be well governed, and to prosper under the new administration. The Begum, notwithstanding her youth, being now about nineteen, had been highly educated according to the system of Mohammedan instruction, and proved herself a woman of ability, resolution, and judgment.

The greatest gainers by the change of affairs in central India should have been the princes of Rajputana, and they did not fail to reap important benefits from the revolution, although their own wretched management frustrated, in some degree, the natural tendency of events. They were comprehended under two classes, secondary and principal, including under the first head the petty chiefs of Banswara, Dungepur, Pertabgerh, Sirohi, Krishnagerh, Kerauli, Bundi, and Kotah; and under the second, the more powerful and distinguished Rajas of Udaypur, Jaypur, Jodhpur, Jesselmer and Bhikaner. With each of these, formal engagements were contracted, upon the general basis of subordinate cooperation, and acknowledged supremacy.

The Rajput princes of the inferior order, who, strong in the formation of their country and their native courage, compelled the Mahratta invaders to substitute tribute for subjugation, are found chiefly in a rugged country, west of the sources of the Chambal, between Malwa and Guzerat, known by the denomination of Bagar and Kanthal. In the former were situated Banswara and Dungepur, while the Raj of Pertabgerh was considered equivalent to the latter. The Raja of Banswara had negotiated at Baroda for an alliance in 1812, offering to pay three-eighths of his revenue in requital of the protection of his territory and principality. He was referred to Delhi, and an envoy was accredited to the Political Agent, who, when it was resolved to take the Rajputs under theegis of British power, was instructed to conclude a treaty under the terms proposed.¹ The Raja disavowed his agent, but declared himself to be still desirous of British protection, and a second treaty was framed and ratified, by which, in lieu of a proportion

¹ Treaty, 16th September, 1818, and 25th December, 1818. Treaties, Marquis of Hastings' Administration, xcix. cvil. Agreement with Bhawani Sing, 11th February, 1823.

BOOK II. of the revenue, the Raja engaged to pay to the British
 CHAP. X. Government the arrears of tribute due to Dhar, and
 1819. to continue the payment annually, in a scale of progressive augmentation, until it should rise to the amount that might be required for the military defence of the country—the final tribute not to exceed three-eighths of the revenue.¹ In the event of delay, or failure of payment, a British agent should be appointed to receive the collection. The terms of the engagement formed with the Raja of the neighbouring state of Dungeerpur,² a kinsman of the Rana of Udaypur, were precisely the same as those with the Nawab of Banskara. The Raja died in July, 1819, and was succeeded by his son, Bhawani Sing, who was placed upon his cushion of sovereignty by the assistant to the Political Agent in Malwa.

The Raja of Pertabgerh was also a scion of the ruling family of Udaypur. He had been tributary to Holkar, but had been released from his dependance on that chief, by a treaty concluded with him in 1804, by Colonel Murray, commanding the Guzerat division. This treaty, and others concluded on the same occasion, with the petty Rajas in this part of India, were never formally ratified by the British Government, and had no other result than that of exposing the chiefs to the vindictive resentment of the Mahrattas. Pertabgerh had experienced its full share of the evil consequences of a precipitate contract, and readily sought relief in a new and better guaranteed agreement. Protection was promised, as was assistance against the mountain tribes of the neighbourhood, and against the Raja's refractory subjects,³ in return for which the Raja agreed to pay, by instalments, the arrears of tribute due to Holkar, and a gradually increasing annual tribute, until it should reach a stipulated sum.⁴ Under these arrange-

¹ The arrears were estimated at 35,000 rupees, which were to be paid in three years. The tribute for three years was fixed at 17,000, 20,000, and 25,000 respectively. In 1827-8, the Banskara tribute amounted to 30,000 rupees, it afterwards declined to 25,000.—Sutherland. In the Commons' Report, App. Pol. p. 188, the tribute of Banskara for 1827-8, is called 130,000 rupees, and that of the two preceding years, severally 50,000 and 40,000.

² Treaty with Sri Jeswant Sing, Raja of Dungeerpur, 11th December, 1818. Treaties, Marquis of Hastings' Administration, ciii.

³ Agreement with the Raja of Pertabgerh, 9th December, 1818. Treaties, Hastings' Papers, c.

⁴ 72,000 rupees. This again was paid to the Government of Holkar, the British Government, although claiming the allegiance and tribute of Pertabgerh for itself, agreeing to pay to Holkar the same sum as the latter amounted to.

ments, this petty state continued to prosper, notwithstanding the occasional occurrence of domestic dissension. One important benefit realised to these feeble principalities was their extrication from a swarm of military adventurers, chiefly Arabs, Sindhis, and Mekranis, who, called in to engage in their mutual quarrels, had become, to a great extent, masters of the country. The dismissal of these mercenaries formed an article in each of the several engagements, but as it would have been incapable of fulfilment by the princes themselves, the employment of British troops was essential to its accomplishment; and by their aid a burthen that pressed heavily upon the resources of the state was thrown off. Above four thousand mercenaries were expelled, in the course of two years, from the country west of the Chambal. The benefit afforded by the repression of the incursions of the Bhils and Mhers was also of great magnitude, not only to the several states, but to Malwa and Hindustan; the roads to which, from Guzerat and the sea-coast, lay through Dungepur and Banswara, and being now rendered secure from robbery and murder, were again thrown open to foreign traffic.

The Rajput ruler of Sirohi, a small principality on the south-eastern borders of Jodhpur, early applied to the British Resident at Baroda to be taken under protection. The position of this state in the line of communication between Rajputana and Guzerat recommended the formation of an alliance with the Raja, and the overture was favourably received. The conclusion of any agreement was delayed by the claims preferred by the Raja of Jodhpur, who maintained that Sirohi was included among his tributary dependencies. The claim was denied, although it was admitted that military incursions had been occasionally inflicted on Sirohi by the Raja of Jodhpur, or some of his Thakurs, for the purpose of levying arbitrary contributions.¹ No engagements of allegiance or protection had

¹ The petty and harassing nature of these incursions may be best conceived from examples. The village and lands of Srivara on the frontiers of Sirohi, had been subjected to a contribution levied by a body of Jodhpur troops, about once in three years, of one hundred and eighty rupees (say £18). In 1818-19, a demand was made of 1,400 rupees (£140), which the village being unable to pay, the invaders accepted a promissory note for 800 rupees (not likely ever to be honoured), and a mare valued at 600 rupees, for the balance. The two villages of Raniwara had been made in like manner, to pay 300 rupees; in the same year, they were plundered to the extent of 1,000 rupees, were obliged to

tories. Karauli,¹ a still smaller principality, on the eastern limit of Jaypur, early applied for British protection. The tribute paid by the Raja to the Mahrattas was remitted: and no conditions but those of general allegiance, and military service when required, were stipulated. The advantages of the engagement were entirely on the side of the Raja; and no interference has ever been exercised in his territory. He has, nevertheless, been unable to resist the bias of his natural propensity to embark in hazardous scenes of strife and peril, and was known to have furnished military aid to Bhurtpur, on an occasion which will be hereafter noticed.² It was not thought necessary to visit with severity a breach of faith so insignificant in its consequences.

The engagements that were entered into with the states of Haravati, or Bundi and Kota, were of more substantive importance, and were an essential part of the political system adopted by the Governor-General. The treaty with Bundi relieved it of all tribute formerly paid to Holkar, and transferred to the British Government, the collection of that which had been reserved to Sindhia, amounting to eighty thousand rupees. The lands which had been appropriated by Holkar within the limits of Bundi, were also restored to the Raja.³ The grounds on which this state had deserved the bounty of the British Government,—the assistance afforded to Colonel Monson, on his retreat, have been already adverted to. The Raja died in the middle of 1821, and his son, Ram Sing, a boy of eleven years of age, was placed on the cushion, by the British agent in Rajputana, who conferred upon the youth the 'tika,' or mark of sovereignty, as the representative of the paramount Lord. A council of Regency was appointed of four principal ministers of the Raja; but it was soon after dissolved by the influence of the queen mother, who assumed the character of Regent, and appointed her own minister. On his death, in the beginning

¹ Treaty with the Raja of Karauli, 9th November, 1817. *Ibid.* lxix.

² "When the British Government was involved in the Burmese war, and Bhurtpur prepared for defence, under the usurpation of Durjan Sal, there was no doubt that Keraoli sent troops to the aid of the usurper, and assembled troops for its own defence. On the fall of that fortress, Keraoli made strong protestations of attachment, and it was not deemed necessary to take any serious notice of its proceedings."—Sutherland, 113.

³ Treaty with Bishen Sing Raja of Bundi, 10th February, 1818. *Treaties*, xci.

BOOK II. of 1823, the young Raja nominated a successor, without
 CHAP. X. consulting the political agent ; but, as it appeared that the
 choice was judicious, it was confirmed ; and the state, under able management, continued prosperous. In the same year, the young Raja, then in his twelfth year, married a princess of Jaypur, who was in her twenty-fifth, the disparity of years being more than compensated by the honour of the alliance. The connexion was productive, at a later date, of disastrous consequences.

The real ruler of Kota, the Raj Rana, Zalim Sing, had, from the first, associated himself with the policy of the British Government, and had at once entered into a treaty of alliance. It was concluded with the sovereign of whom Zalim Sing professed to be the minister, the Maha Rao, Umed Sing. The tributes heretofore paid to the Mahrattas, were made payable, according to a stipulated scale, to the British Government.

The exercise of the supreme authority of Kota, by Zalim Sing, was apparently conformable to the wishes of the Raja Umed Sing, who, being of an unambitious and indolent disposition, rejoiced to be exempted from the cares of government. He was not subjected to any personal restraint ; maintained a show of state ; and was treated by Zalim Sing with the utmost deference. Still he had been so little heard of, or known in the transactions of central India, for many years past, that the British Government looked only to his representative ; and was prepared, at the period of the negotiations with Kota, to have acknowledged Zalim Sing as the head of the principality. That prudent chief's regard for the opinion of Rajputana, which, however indifferent to the appropriation of the authority, would have severely condemned the usurpation of the title of Raja, deterred him from taking advantage of the friendly disposition or ignorance of his allies ; and the treaty was designated as having been framed with the Raja, through the administrator of the affairs of Kota. This was considered, however, an insufficient recognition of Zalim Sing's actual power, and a supplementary article was therefore framed, by which, while the succession of the principality was acknowledged to be vested in the son of Umed Sing, it was also provided that the administration should be in like manner heritable, and after being exercised by the Raj Rana Zalim Sing, should

descend to his eldest son and his heirs in regular succession in perpetuity:¹ thus sanctioning the co-existence of a double government, and virtually guaranteeing the perpetual independence of a hereditary minister. The inconveniences of such a guarantee were soon manifested.

BOOK II.
CHAP. X.
1819.

The Raja of Kota, Umed Rao, died in December, 1810, and was succeeded by his eldest son Kesari Sing.² The young prince submitted, although with impatience, to the control of the aged minister, but cherished an insuperable dislike to the eldest son of Zalim Sing. and insisted on his right to choose his own confidential adviser and eventual minister in the person of Govardhan Das, the younger son of the Raj Rana, and the new sovereign's early associate and friend. In the prosecution of his purpose, the Rao adopted measures which menaced the political authority of Zalim Sing, and the Governor General, in conformity with the principle of the supplementary article of the treaty, directed the Political Agent in Rajputana, Captain Tod, to interfere and uphold the minister against the Raja, to the extent even, if necessary, of deposing the latter. His dismissal of Govardhan Das was demanded, but the demand was resisted, until troops were employed to surround the fort and prohibit the entrance of supplies, by which the Raja was starved into a temporary acquiescence. Govardhan Das was obliged to withdraw from Kota, and a seeming reconciliation was effected between the veteran minister and the Raja. It was not of long duration: as soon as the Resident had left the city, the quarrel revived with enhanced violence, and broke out into actual hostilities. Kesari Sing became alarmed and fled to Delhi, where he was detained until he promised to relinquish all pretension to interfere in the administration of his government. This promise he also broke, and, returning to Rajputana, had recourse to Bundi and Jaypur for aid. The sense of

¹ Supplementary Article. The contracting parties agree that, after Maha Rao Omel Sing, the principality shall descend to his eldest son and heir apparent, Maharaj Kowar Kishore Sing, and his heirs in regular succession and perpetuity; and that the entire administration of the affairs of the principality shall be vested in Raj Rana Zalim Sing, and after him in his eldest son, Kgoar Madhu Sing, and heirs in regular succession in perpetuity. Concluded at Delhi, February 20th, 1818. This article is not found in the Collection of the Hastings Papers, nor in any Parliamentary Collection. It is given in a collection of Treaties printed at Bombay, apparently under the sanction of the Government.

² Sutherland calls him Krishna Sing, but the public documents have Kishore (for Kesari ?) Sing.

BOOK II. the country was universally in his favour. Notwithstanding
 CHAP. X. Zalim Sing's unquestionable merits, his encroachments
 1819. on the hereditary rights of the Raja were regarded as a
 dereliction of his duties as a subject, and as an indefensible and traitorous usurpation. Encouragement was given by the ruling authorities of different states to Kesari Sing to assert his claims, and many of the Rajput chiefs brought their followers to his standard, so that in a short time he had assembled six thousand men. It is questionable if Zalim Sing, left to his own resources, could have maintained himself against his lawful Prince, but the British troops were at hand to uphold his disloyalty. An action was fought at Mangrore, in which Kesari Sing was defeated. Prithvi Sing, his younger brother, and many of the chiefs who had embraced his cause were killed, and the Raja made his escape with no more than three hundred horse: the rest were dispersed. Finding that his attempts to throw off the yoke of his minister, while so powerfully supported, were hopeless, Kesari Sing submitted to the pleasure of the British Government, and was replaced in his titular sovereignty; a fixed stipend was assigned to him for his subsistence, and he was allowed to maintain a small body guard of horse and foot, but his authority was restricted to his own immediate dependants, and the real rule of Kota was once more confined to the Raj Rana. Zalim Sing died in little more than two years after the restoration of the Raja, and was succeeded as minister by his son Madhu Sing. The animosity between the servant and the master, and the want of ability and character in both, demanded the continued presence of a Resident at Kota, and imposed upon him the duty of preserving unimpaired the respective rights and privileges of the minister and the Raja.¹

We have now to review the relations which were formed

¹ It was a subject of regret to the British Government, on the death of Zalim Sing, that a division of territory could not, consistently with the terms of the treaty, be made between the Raja of Kota and Madhu Sing. After many years of hesitation this arrangement was carried into effect, and put an end to the contest between incompatible hereditary successions. In 1834, the parties agreed, at the instance of the British Government, to a partition of the country. The Raj Rana, the son and successor of Madhu Sing, received one-third of the dominions of Kota, thenceforward termed Jhalawar. The remaining two-thirds continued in the occupancy of the Maha Rao Ram Sing, the nephew and adopted son of Kesari Sing.—Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, II. part II., p. 107.

with the more eminent Rajput states ; and first with the Rana of Udaypur, the anxiety of which prince to be sheltered by British protection from the outrages and insolence of the Mahrattas and Pathans had been signified to the British Resident at Delhi, long before the altered policy of the Government allowed it to gratify his wishes. As soon as the abandonment of the principle of non-interference was known, the Vakils of the Rana presented themselves at Delhi, and a treaty was speedily concluded by which Udaypur became tributary to the British, on account of protection against every other claimant.¹ The tribute was fixed at one-fourth of the revenue for the first five years, and after that, three-eighths in perpetuity.² But the more remarkable feature in the treaty was, the acknowledgment of the supremacy of the British Government by a state which, amidst all its disasters and distress, had never recognised a superior in either Mohammedan or Mahratta. Nor had Udaypur ever paid regular tribute to the Mahrattas, although heavy contributions had been levied from time to time, and alienations of territory had been enforced as the price of forbearance, or as the requital of subsidiary service. All lands which had been assigned unauthorisedly, or had been seized by the officers of Sindhia and Holkar for no adequate reason,³ the British Government undertook to recover, confirming those grants which had been voluntarily made. The Resident was also empowered to redeem on behalf of the Rana the domains of the Crown which, in the recent relaxation of all law and authority, had been silently usurped by his most powerful vassals. The Resident was able to effect this object by remonstrance and persuasion, and the Thakurs consented to restore all lands usurped from the Rana or each other since A.D. 1766 ; to observe faithfully their allegiance, and to discharge the duties under which they held their possessions.⁴ They also engaged to abstain from mutual

BOOK II.

CHAP. X.

1819.

¹ Treaty with the Raja of Udaypur, 13th January, 1818. *Treaties*, xc.

² Sindhia claimed three-fifths of the revenue, and the Chouths or fourth, besides, but upon no equitable grounds, and his claims were set aside. For several years no tribute was realized. From 1824-5 to 1826-7, nearly three lakhs were annually exacted, but this was found to press too heavily off the revenues. The last returns are about one lakh and a half (£15,000).

³ These amounted, according to Captain Tod, to an annual revenue of above thirty lakhs of rupees. Sixteen having been appropriated by Sindhia's captains, fourteen by Holkar's.—MS.

⁴ Among them was the attendance for three months alternately at Court in

BOOK II. hostilities, to harbour no banditti, to commit no violence
 CHAP. X. on travellers and traders, and to cherish their peasantry.
 1820. These obligations were fulfilled with various degrees of fidelity, and the growth of the country in prosperity was progressive, although retarded by the improvidence and extravagance of the Rana, Bhim Sing, by which, after some years, he was plunged into embarrassments little inferior to those from which he had been extricated by the British alliance. His revenue, however, as well as the condition of the country improved. In 1817, the royal lands returned scarcely a yearly sum of three thousand rupees; in 1821, they yielded about eleven lakhs. In the course of four years the inhabited houses of the capital increased from three thousand to ten thousand.¹ Bhilwara, a commercial town of importance, and once containing twelve thousand families, but which latterly had not a single inhabitant, recovered, in less than a year, seven hundred families, among whom were many merchants and bankers. Commerce again became active, and travelling comparatively secure; and cultivation transformed the wilderness which had spread over the country, in consequence of its depopulation, to fields of grain, reaped without fear of their being laid waste by bands of mercenary Pathans or predatory Mahrattas.²

The renewal of the alliance with Jaypur had been most earnestly solicited by the Raja as early as 1815, but a

command of a body of their own followers, "in order to give strength and respectability to the executive government." The articles of agreement are given by Mr. Prinsep, ii. 362.

¹ According to the Rana's own statement to Captain Tod, "when Jamshid Khan (the officer left by Amir Khan in charge of the Rana) was here, no respectable man could walk the streets without being seized, and, unless he paid a sum of money, he was stripped. Men's wives and daughters were forcibly torn from their dwellings. Had the British not been here at this moment, the rents of the surrounding fields would have been in requisition, and parties of mercenary troops encamped in the valley. We were obliged to pluck the sour fruit before it was ripe, or it was taken from us."

² Bishop Heber passed through Udaypur and the neighbouring Rajput States on the way to Guzerat, in the beginning of 1823, at a time when the country was suffering from the effects of a season of drought, but he frequently notices the abundant crops of wheat, barley, and poppies. He also passed through Bhilwara, and describes it as a large town with a greater appearance of trade, industry, and moderate but widely diffused wealth and comfort, than he had seen since he left Delhi. The streets were full of carts laden with corn and flour, the shops stored with all kinds of woollen, felt, cotton and hardware goods, and the neatness of their workmanship in iron surpassed what he could have expected to see. The people unanimously ascribed the renovation of their town to Captain Tod.—*Narrative of a Journey, &c.*, ii. 46.

compliance with his requisition was the subject of much doubt and discussion, as we have already had occasion to observe. The Governor-General, considering it to be an essential part of his plans for the suppression of predatory warfare, carried the question in the affirmative, and the Resident at Delhi was authorised to enter into a negotiation with the Jaypur envoys. They, however, then held back, in conformity with the policy of their court, which anticipated relief from the exactions of Amir Khan, by the mere rumour of a British alliance, from the formation of which it was deterred by the opposition of the nobles, the advice of Jodhpur, and the menace of Sindhia that he would join Amir Khan if the negotiation proceeded. The expectation was in part realised. Amir Khan suspended operations, and the court of Jaypur, hoping to conclude a treaty with him on advantageous terms, marked their indifference to the British alliance, by suddenly proposing conditions which were inadmissible. The negotiation was declared to be at an end, but fresh applications from the Raja to the Governor-General led to its renewal. It was again broken off, the amount of the subsidy being objected to by the agents, and the Minister of Jaypur declaring in open court that they had never been authorised to accede to any pecuniary payment for a subsidiary force. The envoys, nevertheless, remained at Delhi, confident that the intercourse with Amir Khan would end in disappointment, and that the Raja must eventually throw himself on British protection. They judged rightly, and after three years' vacillation, a treaty was concluded with Jaypur. Protection was promised on the one part, and allegiance on the other; and to defray the expense of the military defence of the Raj, was henceforth the duty of the protected power. Jaypur agreed to pay as a tribute a progressively augmenting subsidy until it amounted to eight lakhs annually—at which sum it should be fixed until the revenue amounted to forty lakhs a-year, when five-sixteenths of the excess were to be added to the sum of eight lakhs.¹ The state was released from

¹ Treaty with Jaypur, 2nd April, 1811. *Treaties*, xcv. The resources of Jaypur were greatly overrated. In the first six years, the collection fell short by five lakhs of the whole sum stipulated; in the next five by ten lakhs; and, by the last accounts, amounted to no more than thirty-one lakhs. *App. Pol. Report*, p. 188. *Bengal and Agra Gazetteer*, II. II, 191.

BOOK II. all other claims. As usual in all the engagements contracted at this season, a clause was inserted, acknowledging the Raja and his successors absolute rulers of their territory and dependants. The treaty was scarcely concluded when interference in the internal government of Jaypur became necessary to preserve it from the horrors of a civil war.

The constitution of the Rajput states assigns a voice in the management of public affairs, to certain of the chief nobles, or Thakurs, of the principality, each of whom fills much the same position as that of a feudal baron in the middle ages; holding his lands by tenure of military service, governing them with independent power, engaged frequently in hostilities with his neighbours, and singly, or in coalition with other chiefs, sometimes taking up arms against his liege lord. Under an active and prudent Raja, the Thakurs might be subjected to control; but Jagat Sing, dissolute and indolent, had aggravated by his defects, the disorders induced by foreign invasion, and had suffered the power of the Raja to fall into insignificance and contempt by the impunity with which he permitted his great vassals to encroach upon the demesne of the crown, or the imprudence with which he alienated his revenues in favour of military or religious persons, on conditions which they wholly disregarded. It became necessary to interfere to protect his power from annihilation; and a minister having been appointed with the sanction and support of Sir David Ochterlony, who united the chief civil and military authority in this part of Rajputana, many of the grants to undeserving individuals were resumed; and it was proposed to the Thakurs to assent to an arrangement, similar to that effected at Udaypur, by which they should consent to relinquish their usurpations. Their assent was not obtained until an example had been made of the most refractory, and the strong-holds, of Kusalgerh and Madhurajpur had been captured by British troops. Before, however, any comprehensive arrangement was accomplished, Jagat Sing died. He left no heir. The succession was claimed by Man Sing, son of the late Raja's elder brother; but he was unacceptable to the Thakurs, being born of a woman of inferior rank; and he was set aside in favour of a boy, said

to have been adopted by the Raja in his dying moments. The genuineness of the adoption was questioned, but the opportune birth of a posthumous son, by one of the Ranis, rendered its validity unimportant. A dispute, however, arose for the ministry. The infant Raja's mother was acknowledged regent; but the appointment of her minister was demanded by the majority of the chiefs, who combined to place Bhyri Sal, one of their body, at the head of the state. The Political Agent was again obliged to interpose in order to protect the life of the actual minister, Mohan Ram, whom he had all along supported; but as the party opposed to him was of sufficient influence to nullify all his acts, it was thought prudent to yield to his dismissal, and acquiesce in the elevation of Bhyri Sal. This was sufficient to create a new opposition, and a contest for power arose between the new minister and the officers and servants of the interior of the palace, where the two principal widows of Jagat Sing intrigued for the promotion of their creatures, and, according to popular scandal, their paramours. To obviate the mischief thus engendered, and to arrest the misappropriation of the resources of the state, which were lavishly alienated by both parties to secure adherents, it was determined to establish a permanent Resident at Jaypur; and although the measure was equally distasteful to both factions, Major Stewart was sent to Jaypur, in that capacity, in 1821. This interposition was vindicated, not only by a regard for the interests of the minor Raja, but for those of the British Government, as the prodigal dissipation of the revenue was likely to prevent the punctual payment of the tribute. The interposition of the Resident was, in the first instance, restricted to advice, but this was found ineffectual to remedy the evils of a divided administration—the influence of Jhota Ram, the favourite of the Regent Rani, neutralising the authority of Bhyri Sal, and encouraging resistance to his orders. More positive interference was therefore had recourse to, and the Rani mother was threatened with the transfer of the Regency to the other widow of the Raj, who was of superior rank, being the daughter of the Raja of Jodhpur, unless she consented to the removal of her favourite. Jhota Ram was accordingly sent from court, and the sole authority

BOOK II. vested for a while in Bhyri Sal. The Rani had, however, a
 CHAP. X. strong party among the Thakurs, and the arrangement
 1820. continued undisturbed only as long as it received the
 decided and vigorous support of the British Government. These dissensions prevented the principality of Jaypur from deriving the full advantage to have been expected from the expulsion of the predatory hordes by which it had been so long and so mercilessly ravaged.

The Government of Jodhpur early signified its willingness to contract an alliance upon the conditions which had been declined in 1804. A treaty was accordingly concluded on the same terms as those formed with the other Rajput states. Jodhpur received military protection on condition of acknowledging the supremacy of the British power, and affording, when required, a force of fifteen hundred horse, or, in time of need, the whole of its disposable troops. The tribute paid to Sindhia, amounting to one lakh and eight thousand rupees a-year, was thenceforth payable to the British Government. The absolute authority of the Raja and his successors over their own dominions was admitted.¹ The treaty was concluded with Man Sing, as represented by the Prince Regent, Chatur Sing, the Raja, as we have seen, being at this time, or affecting to be, incapable of exercising the administration, and having withdrawn from public affairs. Chatur Sing died before the treaty was ratified; but the time had not yet come for the Raja to throw off the mask, and the state was governed by Salim Sing, the chief of Pokurn, and son of the Sawai Sing, murdered by Amir Khan, and by Akhai Chand, the latter as Dewan, or chief civil and financial minister. These were the leaders of the faction hostile to the Raja, and by whose aid the regency of the Prince had been maintained.

As soon as the cessation of military operations permitted, Sir David Ochterlony visited Jodhpur to ascertain the real state of parties, and early received private intimation from the Raja that he proposed to resume the reins of government.² He was encouraged in his resolu-

¹ Treaty with the Raja of Jodhpur, 6th January, 1816. *Treaties*, lxxxix.

² He wrote to the General privately, stating that he had been waiting for assurances of the friendship of the British Government for three years, during which he had never shaved nor changed his apparel. He had now done both. —MS. Records.

tion : but, although he held out the British alliance as an object of terror to his disobedient nobles, he suffered some time to elapse before he manifested the full extent of his designs. Become a master in the art of dissimulation, he exhibited no resentment towards the usurpers of his power, and permitted them, with such a semblance of confidence as to lull their suspicions, to retain their ministerial functions. They paid the penalty of their imprudence. As soon as the Raja's projects were mature, the city of Jodhpur was startled by the appearance of various dead bodies thrown over the battlements of the citadel. Akhai Chand had been seized and imprisoned, made to disgorge the sums he had appropriated from the royal treasury, and was then put to death. The governor of the fort, and other members of the administration, who were found in the citadel, were treated in the same manner, and their partisans throughout the country were simultaneously arrested, tortured until they yielded up their ill-gotten wealth, and then poisoned. Salim Sing was not in the citadel, but in the town with his friend Sartan Sing of Nimaj. The house of the latter was beset by a large body of armed men, but the Thakur defended himself until most of his followers were killed, when he sallied forth with the survivors and was slain. His defence gave the chief of Pokurn opportunity to escape, but it did not save his estates from the Raja's retaliation. Taking advantage of the consternation excited by the suddenness and ferocity of his vengeance, Man Sing despatched the troops, which the treasures he had recovered enabled him to levy, against the divided and bewildered Thakurs, and compelled them to fly for safety to the surrounding Rajput principalities. Notwithstanding these disorders, the vigour which Man Sing displayed in the conduct of the government and the exclusion of the Pathan plunderers, restored the territories of Jodhpur to tranquillity ; and considerable cities, such as those of Merta and Nagore, which had been left in ruins, were re peopled, and prospered.

Although situated beyond the ordinary sphere of predatory aggression, and offering little temptation to the plunderer, the Rajput state of Bhikaner had not wholly escaped, and therefore gladly joined its neighbours in the

BOOK II.

CHAP. X.

1820.

BOOK II. general appeal to British guardianship. The terms were, as usual, protection on the one hand, acknowledgment of supremacy on the other; abstinence from political intercourse with other states, and submission of all disputes to the arbitration of the paramount power. The British Government undertook to assist the Raja in reducing the tribes which had revolted from his authority, and he engaged to become responsible for any injury which his subjects, many of whom were notorious robbers, might have inflicted upon the adjacent British territories. The Raja also promised to provide for the safe passage of merchandise in transit through his dominions, from Kabul and Khorasan to India.¹

The fulfilment of the stipulation, which undertook to reduce to obedience the revolted subjects of Bhikaner, was connected with the necessity of suppressing an insurrection on the frontiers of Hariana, among the Bhattis, who were the subjects of the British Government, and who were assisted in their outrages by the people of Bhikaner in rebellion against their Raja. Upon the occupation of Hariana, the Bhattis who, in the course of their nomadic wanderings, frequented its western boundaries, mostly retired into the desert. Of those who remained, part were made subject to British authority and the rest were placed under that of a chief named Zabita Khan; a district being granted to him in Jagir. Although the pastoral habits of the Bhattis and their migratory life, were not incompatible with predatory practices, and they were dreaded in all the surrounding country as plunderers and robbers, they had hitherto refrained from molesting the British districts; but in the course of 1818, taking advantage of the enfeebled state of the forces usually stationed in the province, the greater part of which were still absent in Malwa, the Bhattis rose in great numbers and captured the frontier town of Fattehabad, which was guarded only by the Sikh contingent of the Naba Raja who fled from the attack. A small detachment was sent from the garrison of Hansi and Hissar to

¹ Treaty with Surat Sing, Raja of Bhikaner, 9th March, 1818.—Treaties, Hastings Papers. xciii.

² Two companies of the 17th N. I., a party of the Dromedary corps, a risala of Skinner's Horse, and a brigade of guns under Major Foot.

The still more remote and sterile principality of Jessalmer, equally sought the British alliance. Few points required adjustment, but a special clause provided that, if invaded or menaced by any danger of great magnitude, the British government would defend the principality, provided the cause of quarrel were not imputable to the Raja. This clause was dictated by the necessity of preserving Jessalmer from the daily encroachments of more powerful neighbours, particularly of the Amirs of Sindh and the Nawab of Bahawalpur, who, but for this alliance, would have extinguished the Rajput principality.¹ The only power against which it became requisite to act was that of Bhikaner. The Maldotas, a robber tribe of the Bhatti race, made a foray from Jessalmer into Bhikaner, and carried off a number of camels, which had been purchased for the service of the Peshwa, and were on their way to the north. In retaliation, the Raja of Bhikaner sent a force against the robbers which destroyed their villages, and threatened some of the chief towns of

¹ One troop of Horse Artillery, 1st N. C., two squadrons of Skinner's Horse, three battalions and a half of N. I., two battalions of Begum Sahib's Irregulars and other auxiliaries, and a small battery of guns, in all between seven and eight thousand men.

² Treaty with Maha Rajah Maharaj, Raja of Jessalmer, 12th December, 1816.

BOOK II. Jesalmer. Further mischief was stopped by the intervention of the British authorities. The Raja of Jesalmer died in 1820, and was succeeded by his son Gaj Sing.

CHAP. X.
1820.

Thus was completed the connection formed with the Princes of Rajputana, who all acknowledged the supremacy of the British Government, promised their subordinate co-operation in time of need, and agreed to submit their mutual disputes to its arbitration. The international peace of Hindustan was secured, and neither Rajput nor Mahratta dared henceforth draw his sword against his neighbour. The maintenance of tranquillity within the several states was less effectually cared for. Non-interference in the internal administration of each state was an invariable condition of their allegiance, a forbearance which it was impossible always to observe, and which, when observed, was generally attended with mischievous results to both prince and people. The latter had been too long accustomed to a state of violence and disorder to become at once peaceable and obedient subjects; and the former were, at all times, inclined to abuse their power, and tyrannise over those under their sway. Sources of dissension were inherent in the conflicting pretensions of the sovereign and his Thakurs—his clansmen and barons—high-spirited but turbulent chiefs, too arrogant to acknowledge subjection—too rude and ignorant to make a profitable use of independence—constantly engaged in feuds with each other, or with their prince—disregarding all law except that of the strongest—placing all their notions of honour in personal impunity, and trusting to their swords alone, for the preservation of their rights, and the assertion of their claims—it required nothing less than the strong hand of the British power to restrain them from involving themselves and their countrymen in scenes of strife and bloodshed. That hand has been somewhat capriciously interposed; sometimes held out and sometimes withdrawn. The policy pursued at one period has been departed from at another, and Rajputana has been consequently agitated by storms which a more decided, although at the same time, moderate, application of authority might have dissipated in their birth.

CHAPTER XI.

Miscellaneous Occurrences during and after the Mahratta War.—Affairs of Cutch.—Hostility of the Rao.—His Intemperance and Violence.—Force sent against him.—Bhuj taken.—The Rao surrenders.—Deposed.—His Infant Son raised to the Throne.—A Council of Regency, under the Superintendence of the Resident.—Subsidiary Treaty.—Amirs of Sindh unfriendly.—Causes.—The Kosa Robbers attacked.—Sindh Troops enter Cutch.—Withdrawn and disavowed.—Treaty with the Amirs.—Arrangement with Kolapur.—Outrages by Plunderers from Troops left at Kishme.—Consequences.—Defeat of British Detachment by the Beni-Bu-Ali Arabs.—Second Expedition.—Tribe almost exterminated.—Agency abolished.—Transactions at Mocha.—Town Sawantwari.—A Force sent into the Country.—Treaty with the Regency.—Treaty with the Chief of Kolaba.—Piracies in the Persian Gulph.—Force sent against them.—Ras-al-Khaima again taken.—Treaty with the Arab Tribes.—Political Agent.—Treaty with the Imam of Senna.—Occurrences in the Eastern Archipelago.—Exclusive Policy of the Dutch.—Defeated by Sir T. Stamford Raffles.—Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen.—His Views on Sumatra.—Objected to by the Governor-General.—Offence not to be given.—Treatment by the Dutch of the Sultan of Palembang.—Determination of the Government of Bengal to secure the Straits of Malacca.—Negotiations with Malay Chiefs anticipated.—Settlement effected at Singapore.—Protested against by the Dutch.—Admitted by Treaty with Holland.—Prosperity of the Settlement.—Affairs of Achin.—Treaty with the Sultan.—Mission to Siam and Cochin China.—Relations with the Subsidiary States on the Indian Continent.—With the Gackwar.—Death of Fateh Sing.—Prince Syaji mude Dewan.—Death of Anand Rao.—Syaji succeeds.—Difficulties of Position.—Arrangements.—Tranquillisation of Rahanpur.—Of Kattiwar.—Relations with Hyderabad.—Mal-Administration of Chandu Lal.—Interference of the Resident.—Dissatisfaction of the Governor-General.—

Question of Interference considered. — Chandu Lal's Financial Embarrassment. — Connection with the Mercantile House of Palmer and Co. — Sanctioned by the Governor-General. — Disapproved of by the Court of Directors. — Dissolved. — Affairs of Oude. — Border Plunderers. — The Nawab Vizir allowed to take the Title of King.

BOOK II.

CHAP. XI.

1820.

AFTER the settlement of Central Hindustan had completed the political system of the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, no events occurred of sufficient importance to call forth a display of the immense resources that were now at the command of the British Government. A variety of transactions, however, ensued, which, although of minor moment, involved objects of considerable magnitude, arising from the determination to preserve the tranquillity of India undisturbed; from the necessity still existing of shielding maritime commerce from piratical depredations; from the duty of providing for British as well as Indian interests in the Eastern Seas; and from the obligations devolving upon the Supreme Government in the course of its relations with the several powers allied to it by subsidiary engagements. These we shall now proceed to describe.

We have already had occasion to notice the new engagements formed with Rao Bharmalji the ruler of Cutch, by which that prince became an ally of the British Government. The good understanding then established was of brief duration. The Rao, surrounding himself with dissolute and low companions, and falling into habits of gross intemperance to an extent that affected his intellects, disgusted the Jhareja chiefs by his capricious and violent conduct, and gave umbrage to his protectors by intimations of inimical designs. These feelings were strengthened by the murder of the young prince Ladhupa, which was perpetrated by command of the Rao, by a party of his Arab mercenaries; from no motive that could be discovered except his own groundless jealousy and frantic disposition. The widow of Ladhupa, who was pregnant at the time of her husband's assassination, was menaced with a similar fate, and as she resided in the palace, and was consequently in the Rao's power, it is possible that the

threat would not have been in vain, had not the British authorities interposed. It was not deemed expedient to demand charge of the person of the widow, lest the Rao in his indignation should be urged to the commission of the atrocity which it was sought to prevent; but he was warned that any practices against her safety, or that of her infant, would incur the severest displeasure of the British Government. The warning was not fruitless, and although the Rao indulged in menaces of the most brutal description, he refrained from attempting the life of the mother or the child, and she gave birth to a son.

Dissatisfied at the proximity of the British force at Anjar, and irritated by an interference in his family affairs, which he with truth averred was unauthorised by the treaty, the Rao began to collect mercenary troops, and to call for the contingents of his chiefs with the unavowed intention of expelling the British from his country. Knowledge of his purposes defeated their execution, and the timely arrival of an additional battalion placed the station of Anjar in security. The Rao then directed the force he had assembled, about five thousand strong, against Arisir, a fortified town belonging to Kalian Sing, the father of Ladhuba's widow, and one of the Jhareja chieftains, who were under British protection. Of this the Rao was admonished, and he was informed, that unless he desisted from his purpose, he would be considered guilty of an infraction of the treaty, and would be dealt with as an enemy. The whole of the Jharejas alarmed by this attack upon one of the brotherhood, and by an attempt of the Rao to exact from them pecuniary contributions in the place of military service; indignant also at the murder of Ladhuba and the treatment of the Bai, conveyed to the Resident their readiness to support him in any measures he should propose to adopt towards the head of their government. It was inconvenient at the moment to spare troops for carrying into effect the resolution to remove Rao Bharmalji from his throne, and he was suffered to carry on the siege of Arisir without interruption. The courage of the besieged, and the assistance of some of the neighbouring chiefs baffled the efforts of the Rao, and after detaining his troops before the place for several months, during which the garrison was reduced to

BOOK II. great distress, compelled him to be contented with the
 CHAP. XI. occupation of one of the gates of the fort as an acknow-
 1820. ledgment of his supremacy. His retreat was accelerated
 by the approach of British detachments which were soon
 concentrated at Anjar, and placed under the command of
 Sir William Keir.¹

The British division marched upon Bhuj on the 24th of March, 1819. As they approached the town they were charged by large masses of horse and foot, but they repulsed the enemy and drove them under the walls. Demonstrations were then made for an assault upon the town, but at the same time it was determined to attempt the surprise of the fort, and a strong detachment was sent against it before daybreak on the 26th. The party reached the foot of the walls as the day broke; and the ladders were planted and the walls escalated almost before the garrison were aware of the presence of the assailants. They fled with precipitation, and gained the town not without loss; that of the British was inconsiderable. As the town was completely commanded by the fort, the Rao was sensible of the hopelessness of resistance, and throwing himself upon the mercy of the victors, came into the British camp. His sentence had been pronounced. It was determined, in concert with the Jharejas, to depose him in favour of Rao Desal his infant son; the affairs of the Government being administered by a council of regency, composed of some of the principal Jhareja chiefs under the superintendence of the British Resident, and the guarantee of his Government.² The mercenary troops were dismissed, and the defence of the principality was to be committed to a British force, the expense of which was to be defrayed by the government of Cutch.³ Clauses

¹ The force was composed of the 1st regiment of N. C., a company of European artillery, H.M. 65th regiment, and three battalions of N. I., with guns.

² Soon after these events, in the middle of June, a remarkably severe earthquake laid great part of Cutch in ruins. At Bhuj seven thousand houses were overturned, and one thousand one hundred and forty people buried in the rubbish. About fifteen hundred houses were thrown down, and a like number rendered uninhabitable at Anjar. The fort was a pile of ruins. One hundred and sixty-five people were killed, and many more died of their bruises. Many other towns were partially, some wholly, destroyed. Shocks were felt in many other parts of India, as far as Nepal, but they were unattended with injury.—Papers relating to the Earthquake in India, 1819. Tr. Bombay Lit. Soc. iii. 90.

³ The subsidy was two lakhs of Ahmedabad rupees.

were inserted requiring the Rao and the Jharejas to suppress the practice of infanticide, and the Jhareja chiefs were guaranteed in their possessions. By a subsequent engagement, Anjar was restored to the Government of Cutch, in commutation of an annual payment of eighty-eight thousand rupees. After the novelty of these arrangements had ceased, the Jharejas were generally dissatisfied with the control to which they were subjected, by the influence of British principles in the Regency, and by the efforts which were made with comparatively little good to suppress infanticide. They were not sufficiently united, however, to organize any effectual opposition; and the peace of the province was undisturbed. The deposed Rao was permitted to reside at Bhuj under a guard, but he manifested no inclination to recover his sovereignty.¹

BOOK II.
CHAP. XI.
1820.

The interference exercised in the affairs of Cutch, was regarded with alarm and jealousy by the Amirs of Sindh. They had long entertained designs against the principality, and were deeply mortified to find themselves anticipated, and the country placed beyond their ambition. Other circumstances contributed to aggravate their irritation and to urge them to a course of procedure which would have led to hostilities, but for the forbearance of the British Government.

The confines of Guzerat and Cutch, and the petty states east of the *Ran*, which had been latterly taken under British protection, had been for some time past, infested by marauding tribes, frequenting Parkur and the borders of the desert of Sindh, the principal of whom were termed Khosas. The Amirs of Sindh had been invited to co-operate for the repression of their ravages, and had, in compliance with the invitation, despatched a body of troops against the plunderers; while a detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Barclay, marched against them from Pahlampur. Notwithstanding the professions of the Amirs, the commander of the Sindh force appeared to have come with a design of protecting, rather than of expelling the Khosas, a body of whom encamped unmolested near the Sindhian detachment. In this situation, they were attacked at night by a part of Colonel Barclay's division,

¹ Treaty with the Cutch Government, 13th October, 1819. Ditto, 21st May, 1822.—Hastings Papers, Treaties with Native Princes.

BOOK II. and, becoming confounded with the Sindhians, exposed
 CHAP. XI. the latter to a participation in their disgrace and loss.
 1820. The troops of Sindh retired from the frontier and represented the attack as the result of design. The British troops left to themselves, pursued the Khosas across the boundary, and this also was complained of as a violation of the Sindh territory. In resentment of these injuries and of the occupation of Cutch, an army from Hyderabad entered the latter country, took Loona, a town fifty miles from Bhuj, and laid waste the adjacent district. Lieutenant-Colonel Stanhope with a strong detachment, was sent to repel the aggression. The enemy retired before him. The Bombay Government immediately demanded reparation for the mischief committed, and threatened to order the advance of the division into Sindh, if its demands were not complied with. The outrage was disowned, and envoys from Hyderabad were despatched to Bombay and to Bhuj to deprecate the displeasure of the British. The Supreme Government, also, was averse to any hostile¹ collision with the Amirs, and rested contented with the disavowal of the act, the liberation of the prisoners, and promises to restrain the Khosas and other marauders from any inroads into the British dominions. A treaty was concluded to this effect.²

By the treaty of Poona the Peshwa renounced all claims on the petty Mahratta states, among which the sea-coast of the Konkan, between Bombay and Goa, was principally partitioned. Kolapur, Sawantwari, and Kolaba, became in consequence exclusively subject to British supremacy. These states owed their origin in a great degree to piratical practices; and the subjects of Kolapur continuing in 1812 to exercise their old trade, it was found necessary to enter into a treaty with the Raja, by which he engaged to suppress piracy as far as it was in his power so to do,

¹ The sentiments of the Government of Bengal derive an interest from late events. "Few things," they remarked, "would be more impolitic than a war with Sindh, as its successful prosecution would not only be unprofitable, but an evil. The country was not worth possessing, and its occupation would involve us in all the intrigues and wars, and incalculable embarrassments of the countries beyond the Indus. Hostilities might become unavoidable hereafter; but it was wise to defer their occurrence as long as possible."—MS. Rec.

² Treaty with the Amirs of Sindh, 9th November, 1820. Hastings Papers, cxvii. The treaty was formed with two of the Amirs, Karim Ali and Murád Ali.

and to make over to the Bombay Government the fortified harbour of Malwan. After the recent war, new arrangements were made, by which, districts¹ that the Raja had been compelled to relinquish to the Peshwa were restored to him. Although a young man, he did not long enjoy this accession to his resources, being shot as he sat in his court, by a chief, whose Jagir he had sequestered. His successor was a minor, and the government was vested in the mother of the late Raja, as regent. A similar engagement for the suppression of piracy had been also contracted in 1812, with Sawant-wari, and the port and fortifications of Vingorla had been ceded to the British. Pond Sawant, the Desai, or ruler of Sawant-wari, died soon afterwards, and leaving only an infant son as his successor, this state fell likewise under female administration. The Rani, Durga Bai, held the reins of government with a feeble grasp, and was unable to restrain the license of her chiefs. Some of them gathered armed bands around them, whom they could alone support by plunder; and instigated their followers to commit depredations on the territories of the Bombay Presidency. Repeated remonstrances producing no effect, a force was detached into the principality, under Sir William Grant Keir, part of which crossed the Ghats, and occupied the fort of Niuti, which was quietly surrendered, while another portion proceeded by sea, and being joined by the main division, carried the external defences of a stronger fortress, that of Rairi, by storm. The upper fort was abandoned by the garrison, and surrendered. General Keir thence marched to the capital, where Durga Bai having died, the regency had devolved on two other ladies, the aunts of the Raja. Wholly unable to offer any resistance, the regents were ready to assent to everything that was required, and a treaty was accordingly concluded by which, in the name of Khem Sawant, the young Raja, they agreed to acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government, to deliver to it any of their subjects who should have committed acts of violence or depredations in its territories; and to cede the forts of Rairi and Niuti, with the lands around them, as well as

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1820.

¹ Chekori and Manoull yielding three lakhs of rupees per annum. They were granted by an engagement or sunnud by Colonel Munro; but the grant was subsequently confirmed by treaty.

BOOK II. Khaima, in the beginning of the following December. The
 CHAP. XI. troops were landed on the south of the town, drove in a
 1820. body of Arabs stationed in front of them, and effected a
 lodgment within three hundred yards of the defences.
 Batteries were erected without delay; a spirited sally was
 made by the enemy on the sixth, in which the Arabs were
 for a time the masters of the guns; but they were re-
 pulsed, and displayed no further energy. A storm was
 ordered on the eighth; but, on approaching the walls, it
 was found that the place was deserted. Little loss had
 attended the previous operations.¹ The fall of Ras-al-
 Khaima, and that of Zaya, a strong fort to the north of
 Ras-al Khaima, against which a detachment, under Major
 Warren, had been sent, struck terror into the neighbouring
 tribes, and their Sheikhs, repairing to the British camp,
 assented to the articles of a treaty proposed by the British
 Commander, the terms of which they could not have
 thoroughly understood, and to which it was not to be
 expected that they would long adhere. The main stipu-
 lations were, that they should abstain from plunder and
 piracy; from killing their prisoners; from quarrelling with
 one another; and from trafficking in slaves. Their ships
 were also to carry a flag, indicative of their being friendly
 to the British, and to be furnished with the papers which
 are regarded, among European States, as the requisite
 testimonials of a purely commercial navigation. The flag
 and the papers must have perplexed the Sheikhs; but
 they thought it prudent to accede to them, as well as
 to the more intelligible and important conditions. After
 reducing and demolishing some minor pirate ports, the
 squadron returned to India, leaving a Political Agent at
 Ras-al-Khaima. After a short interval he was directed to
 demolish the place, and to remove to the Isle of Kishmé,
 where a small military detachment had been stationed, to
 secure the adherence of the Arabs to their engagements.
 This arrangement necessitated a second expedition.

The capture of an Indian trading vessel having been
 ascribed to the Arab tribe, the Beni-Bu-Ali, of Askara,
 near Ras-al-Had, a Company's cruizer was sent to inquire
 into the circumstances. The boats not being able to ap-

¹ Major Molesworth of the 47th and four privates were killed. two officers
 and forty-nine men were wounded.

proach the land, the pilot, an Arab, swam to the shore to communicate with a number of the tribe who were assembled on the beach. The man was killed, the boats were fired upon, and the cruiser returned to Kishmé, when Captain Thompson, the Political Agent, conceived himself authorised to adopt military proceedings against the tribe in concert with the Imam of Muscat, whose authority the Beni-Bu-Ali had thrown off. Six companies of Sipahis with six guns, were landed at Soor, and being joined by a thousand of the Imam's troops, advanced to a town belonging to the Imam, the Beled-Beni-Bu-Haran, within three miles of the enemy's principal station. The Beni-Bu-Ali were so far intimidated, that they declared themselves willing to give up the murderers of the pilot, but they were required to lay down their arms, with which demand they refused to comply. On the following morning the troops marched against the Arabs, who, although not more than six hundred strong, came resolutely forward to meet them. The Sipahis advanced in column: they were ordered to form line and charge; but the order had been delayed too long, and before the change of formation could be effected, the Arabs were amid the disordered files, striking down the men with long sharp swords: a general confusion and rout ensued: six officers¹ and four hundred Sipahis were killed, and the whole must have perished, but for the exertions of the Imam, who himself received a wound. The fugitives took shelter in the town, and repelled their pursuers from its walls, on which they resumed their retreat, and, with the troops of the Imam, returned to Muscat. Although disapproving of the attack upon the Beni-Bu-Ali, whose share in any piratical depredations was never substantiated, the Government of Bombay judged it necessary to redeem the credit of the British arms, and to maintain unimpaired the influence established in the Persian Gulph: a force was therefore sent against the offending tribe, commanded by Major-General Sir Lionel Smith, which landed at Soor in the end of February. While encamped near Soor, the Arabs made a night attack, in which they occasioned considerable dis-

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¹ Lieutenants Lawrie, Perrin, and Walsh, 2nd battalion of the 1st regiment; Price, of the Engineers; Short, of the marine battalion; and Assistant-Surgeon Higham.

his dwelling, and cruelly beaten. The factory was pillaged by the townspeople. Redress having been vainly demanded, it was determined to obtain it by arms; but it was not found convenient to carry this resolution into effect earlier than the middle of 1820. His Majesty's ship *Eden*, Captain Lock, with three of the Company's cruisers and a flotilla of gun boats was then despatched to Mocha, to demand satisfaction for the treatment of the Resident, the punishment of the *Dola*, and compensation for the property plundered and destroyed. The terms were rejected, and the squadron fired on, which was followed by the bombardment of the town. A truce was then solicited, and granted, until a definitive arrangement should be accomplished, but no disposition being manifested to accede to the terms demanded, the firing was resumed, and the town nearly laid in ashes. Troops and seamen were sent on shore, who stormed the forts by which Mocha was defended, and destroyed them. The Arabs were at length intimidated, and envoys from the Imam brought the offending *Dola* a prisoner on board the squadron; a satisfactory apology was made, and pecuniary compensation promised. The *Dola*, after a short detention, was enlarged and pardoned. The opportunity was taken to place the British factory on a more secure and independent footing, and to relieve the trade of some of its burthens. The Resident was allowed to have a military guard, to ride on horseback, and to have access to the Imam whenever he deemed it expedient. A cemetery was allowed for the use of the Christian members of the factory, and all its dependants were to be under the protection of the British flag, anchorage fees were discontinued, and the duties payable on imports and exports were reduced; the engagement to this effect was signed by the Imam of Senna.¹

The proceedings of the Bengal Government, to which we shall next advert, were directed to a different quarter; and regarded the interests of the British nation in a still greater degree than those of its Indian dependencies. We have already seen, that in ignorance or disregard of the commercial value of Java, or in the excess of their liberality, the British Ministers had restored it uncondi-

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1821.

¹ Treaty with the Imam of Senna, 15th January, 1821.—Coll. of Treaties. Hastings Papers, cxxii.

BOOK II. tionally to the Dutch. Some excuse might perhaps be
 CHAP. XI. urged in consideration of the claims of an unoffending
 1818. people, and it might have been regarded as ungenerous to
 punish Holland for its compulsory connexion with the
 French Emperor; but the same plea was not available for
 the omission of any stipulation for an equivalent, and of
 any provision, either for the commercial objects of Great
 Britain in the Eastern Seas, or for the permanence of those
 engagements which had been contracted with the native
 Princes of the Malay Archipelago by the British func-
 tionaries, during the period of their political ascendancy.
 The consequences were obvious. The Dutch were no
 sooner repossessed of Java, than they sought to exclude
 all commercial and political competition from among the
 neighbouring States, and to regain that supremacy which
 had enabled them to monopolize both the authority and
 the trade of the Malay principalities. They would prob-
 ably have succeeded in shutting out British vessels from
 all commerce with the islands of the Archipelago, in
 closing all direct communication between the Indian and
 China seas, and in subjecting the valuable trade of India
 and of Great Britain with China to serious interruption
 and embarrassment, had not the foresight and energy of
 Sir Thomas Raffles anticipated and defeated their projects;
 and, in despite of their intrigues, and of the indifference
 or ignorance of the British Ministry, insured for his coun-
 trymen, a commanding position in the very heart of those
 regions from which they were menaced with exclusion.

After quitting the Government of Java when its resto-
 ration to the Dutch was determined, Sir T. S. Raffles was
 appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen, on the
 island of Sumatra: he assumed charge of his Government
 in March, 1818, and was immediately involved in discus-
 sions with the Government of Batavia.¹ His first object
 was to establish the predominance of the British through-
 out Sumatra, and obtain a port on the southern coast
 which should command one of the two great entrances of
 the Archipelago, the Straits of Sunda. With this view, he
 traversed the island, entered into treaties with native

¹ He arrived at Bencoolen on the 22nd of March. On the 7th of April fol-
 lowing, he writes, "I am already at issue with the Dutch Government."—
 Mem. 293.

chiefs, between whom and Europeans no intercourse had ever before existed, and began to form a settlement at Simanka Bay. These arrangements were disapproved of and annulled by the Government of Bengal, which, although not unaware of the unfriendly and exclusive character of the policy of the Dutch,¹ was unwilling to disturb the amicable relations formed between the parent countries, and directed every measure of offence to be carefully avoided, pending the reference of all disputed questions to the authorities in England.

In the convention with Holland of August 1814, by which her settlements in the East were restored to her, no provision was made for the continued observance of those compacts which had been formed by the English while in the occupation of Java, with the independent native States. The Dutch immediately annulled them. Among others, the Sultan of Palembang, who had been raised to his regal dignity by the English, was deposed by them, and the chief restored whom the English had deprived of his authority, chiefly on account of his barbarous treatment of the members of the Dutch factory. An officer whom the Governor of Bencoolen had deputed to protect the Sultan, was seized and carried to Batavia; and an appeal made by the reigning Sultan to those who had raised him to power was unavailing, and he was seized and carried a prisoner to Batavia along with an English officer who had been sent by Sir T. Raffles to protest against the aggression committed by the Government of Java against an independent Prince and an ally of the British. It was not considered,² and the Dutch

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1819.

¹ Lord Hastings recorded it as his opinion, "that the proceedings of the Netherlands' authorities since the arrival of the Commissioners-general to receive charge of the Dutch colonies, had been actuated by a spirit of ambition, by views of boundless aggrandisement and rapacity, and by a desire to obtain the power of monopolising the commerce of the Eastern Archipelago, and excluding the English from those advantages which they had long enjoyed, and which they only wished to share in common with other nations of the earth."—Mem. of Sir T. S. Raffles, 304.

² The Governor-General held that "the Dutch were bound by principles of the clearest equity, as well as by the implied conditions of the transfer, to leave the relations between the Palembang and Java as they found them, unless the Sultan violated his engagement. As the case, although well known at home, had not been noticed either by the Court of Directors or his Majesty's Ministers, in the Convention of 1814, the Government of India had no choice but to obey, leaving to the Dutch the odium of disregarding a moral and political obligation."—Mem. of the Governor-General. The desertion of the Sultan was the more indefensible, as it was no longer pos-

BOOK II. were encouraged to extend their claims of supremacy
 CHAP. XI. over all the native princes, whom it was for their interest
 1818. to controul, an invariable article of the engagements into
 which they were compelled to enter being the exclusion
 of the ships of all other European nations from their
 ports.

Notwithstanding this acquiescence in the pretensions of the Dutch Government of Java, the Government of Bengal considered it necessary "to adopt precautions with a view to arrest the injury and degradation which could not fail to ensue from a listless submission, to its unbounded pretensions," and determined to strengthen and extend its own connexions in the Archipelago, so as to preserve the free passage of the Straits of Malacca, the other great thoroughfare to the China seas. The Governor of Bencoolen, the soundness of whose views was fully acknowledged, although his zeal was considered precipitate, was armed with additional powers for this purpose, and was appointed Agent to the Governor-General, in charge of the British interests to the eastward of the Straits. The northern entrance was already in some degree under British influence, by the possession of the stations of Bencoolen and Penang. Some port, however, being still wanted, more advanced on the line to China, and more centrically situated with respect to the numerous islands of the Archipelago, a negotiation was opened with the Sultan of Rhio for the construction of a factory within his territory; but before the engagement was formally executed, a Dutch ship of war intimidated the Sultan into a refusal to ratify it, and into the formation of a treaty with the Government of Java, by which Rhio was closed to European, or rather to English commerce. The same course was pursued at the other ports in the vicinity, and the chiefs of Lingin, Siak, Johore, and Pahang, were deterred from admitting British vessels into their harbours.

While exulting in having thus baffled the projects of their rivals, the Dutch authorities were confounded by the intelligence that a British settlement had sprung up in a

sible to restore the price which he had paid the English for their services. The island of Banca was exchanged for the factory of Cochin by the treaty of 1814.

more eligible situation than any yet attempted. Sir Thomas Raffles had early contemplated Singapore as possessing the qualifications requisite for the prosperity of the trade with the eastern nations, and had obtained the concurrence of the Supreme Government in its occupation. This was a small island about twenty-five miles in length, and eleven broad, lying off the south-eastern extremity of the Malacca peninsula, and divided from it by a narrow strait. It possessed an excellent harbour situated in the route of all ships passing through the straits; was within six days' sail of China, and in the heart of the Malay states, of which it had once been the capital. It was now covered with wilderness, and inhabited by about a hundred and fifty fishermen. It was a dependancy of Johore, a principality on the peninsula of Malacca, but claiming rule over the islands on either coast—including Lingin and Rhio; and it was by a grant from a Sultan of Johore that Singapore became a British settlement. The Dutch disputed the title of the Raja, who had been living in so much obscurity for many years, that it required the local knowledge, and the interested policy of Sir Thomas Raffles to discover him. His pretensions were, however, indisputable, as the eldest son of the last acknowledged Sultan; but who, in consequence of his absence from Lingin, where his father died, had been supplanted by his younger brother, a supercession not unauthorised by Malay usage, although incompatible with Mohammedan law.¹ It suited the British authorities to substantiate his claim, and that of the Dutch to contest it; but the activity of Sir T. Raffles, in occupying the island with a military detachment, and hoisting the British flag, imposed upon the Dutch Commissioners the necessity of expelling him by force, an extreme measure which they were unprepared to hazard. They were contented, therefore, to complain to the Bengal Government, and to enter a protest against the occupation of Singapore, as contrary to the treaty which they had contracted with the Sultan of Lingin, its lawful sovereign, in which he had engaged never to transfer any portion of his territories to a European power without their approbation.

¹ Political and Statistical account of the British Settlements of the Straits of Malacca, by Lieutenant Newbold, ii. 51. Raffles mentions that neither of the sons was duly acknowledged or regularly installed. Memoirs, 327.

BOOK II. They were told in reply, that it was the deliberate intention
 CHAP. XI. of the British Government to resist their spirit of exclusiveness and aggrandisement, and protect British commerce from their jealousy and injustice; that they had no right to demand the restoration of the territories which they had never possessed; to reduce to vassalage the native Princes, who had always been treated by the British, while holding Java, as independent, nor to compel them to enter into engagements, having for their object the exclusion of British vessels from their ports; that the actual occupation of Singapore had anticipated the sanction of the Bengal Government; but that, as it had been effected, the settlement would not be withdrawn upon a simple demand. It was notorious that the Dutch had no connection with Singapore in 1795, when their possessions generally fell into the hands of the English; and, consequently, the present claim was one of recent suggestion, and, finally, that it was useless to discuss the merits of the transaction, as the question had been referred to the authorities in Europe, and must await their decision. Renewed negotiations were, accordingly, set on foot, and a second treaty with Holland established a modification of the existing relations by which these disputes were terminated. The British settlement on Sumatra was ceded to the Dutch, in exchange for Malacca and the settlements on the continent of India. The British withdrew their objections to the occupation of Billeton by the Dutch, and the latter theirs to the possession of Singapore. Admission to the ports of either nation was regulated by fixed moderate duties, and an unrestricted commercial intercourse was permitted to both with any of the native powers in the Eastern Seas. The Moluccas, or Spice Islands, were alone exempted from free access. The officers of both governments were forbidden to form any new settlements without previous sanction from Europe. The British were precluded from forming settlements on any of the islands south of the Straits of Singapore, or entering into treaties with their princes; and the Dutch engaged to observe a similar forbearance with regard to the peninsula of Malacca.¹ The Dutch were much the best informed as to

¹ see Newbold's Remarks on the Treaty, i. 16; and the Treaty itself, *Ibid.* App. dated 17th March, 1824. The debate in the Commons, May, 1824,

the respective value of the reciprocal stipulations, and were the greatest gainers by the treaty. Singapore, however, rapidly rose into importance,¹ and the zeal of Sir Thomas Raffles, which was so unpalatable to the British Ministry as at one time to have threatened his removal, was rewarded by the growing prosperity, and the acknowledged value of the settlement which he had founded.²

Before leaving this part of the Eastern world, we may notice the attempts that were made, about the same period as the formation of the settlement of Singapore, to extend the influence and relations of the Indian Government in the same direction. The establishment of an intimate connection with Achin on the northern extremity of Sumatra had been long considered desirable for the protection of the commercial interests of the Company, and had been latterly recommended by the policy of anticipating the Dutch, who were expected to take advantage of the distractions of Achin, and by their means acquire a paramount authority in the kingdom. The sultan of Achin was no longer the potentate who could cover the adjacent seas and islands with numerous fleets and armies, threatening the Portuguese colonies with destruction,³ or with whom the sovereign of England could carry on a correspondence on terms of equality.⁴ The principality had

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upon the conditions of the treaty, only shows how little the House knew of the subject.

¹ In 1822, the population had risen to ten thousand.—Mem. 525. In 1836-7 it was nearly thirty thousand. In 1823, the value of the exports and imports exceeded eight millions of dollars; in 1835-6, fourteen millions of dollars.—Newbold, i. 291. In 1844-5, their amount was stated in the public returns to be nearly five millions sterling. In addition to its advantageous position, Singapore, which is merely an entrepot where imports are re-exported, owes its prosperity to its having been from the first a free port; no duties being levied.

² Shortly before his return to Europe, in November, 1823, Sir T. Raffles writes—"I have heard nothing more of the question with the Dutch, but doubt not it will be agitated on my arrival in England. I rely more upon the support of the mercantile community than upon any liberal views of the Ministry, by whom I have been opposed as much as by the Dutch."—Mem. 561. At an earlier period, Mr. Charles Grant, the distinguished Director, wrote to Sir T. Raffles—"You are probably aware of the obstacles which have been opposed to the adoption of your measures, and even threatened your position in the service"—Mem. 445.

³ Malacca was repeatedly besieged by the Achinese. In 1615, the King, Paduka Sri, sailed to the attack of that city with a fleet of five hundred sail, carrying a force computed at sixty thousand men. The attack having failed, it was renewed in 1628 with a force of twenty thousand strong, which was defeated with great slaughter. From this reign the power of Achin declined.—Marsden, Hist. of Sumatra, 429.

⁴ Sir James Lancaster, in the first voyage on account of the East India Company, in 1600, carried to the King a letter from Queen Elizabeth, "to the

BOOK II. declined from its extent over nearly half the large island
 CHAP. XI. of Sumatra, to a limited tract at its northern termination,
 1819. over which its sovereign ruled with a feeble and uncertain
 sway. The reigning prince, Jawahir Alem, had been
 engaged almost from the beginning of his reign in 1802 in
 a struggle with some of his principal chiefs, who at length
 conspired to depose him, and invited Syf-ul-Alem, the son
 of an opulent merchant of Penang, to assume the regal
 authority. Syf-ul-Alem supported by his father's wealth,¹
 succeeded for a time in holding a divided sway, but finally
 the hereditary prince recovered his ascendancy and was
 acknowledged by the Supreme Government of India as
 the Sultan of Achin, and a treaty was entered into with
 him, by which the British Government engaged to effect the
 removal of his rival, Syf-ul-Alem, on condition of the
 latter being granted a fixed pension by the Sultan; and in
 return for permission to carry on a free trade with all the
 ports of his dominions. He also promised to receive a
 British Resident, to exclude the subjects of any other
 European power from a permanent habitation in his
 country, and to enter into no treaty or negotiation with
 any power, prince, or potentate, unless with the knowledge
 and consent of the British Government. The subsequent
 relinquishment of Sumatra to the Dutch cancelled these
 engagements and put an end to a connexion with Achin,

great and mighty King of Achem (Achin), our loving brother." Her Majesty alludes particularly to the successful hostilities carried on between Achin and the Portuguese. "It hath appeared unto us, that your Highness and your royall familie, fathers and grandfathers, have, by the grace of God and their valour, sworne not onely to defend your owne kingdomes, but also to give warres unto the Portugals, in the lands which they possess, as namely in Malaca, in the yeere of the Humane Redemption 1575, under the conduct of your valliant Captaine, Raya-macota, with their great loss, and the perpetuall honour of your Highnesse crowne and kingdomes."—Purchas. l. 154. In 1613, Achin was visited by Capt. Best, who brought a letter from King James to Paduka Sri Sultan, by whom the treaty concluded with Lancaster was confirmed.—Ibid. 462.

¹ His interests were also warmly advocated by a party in the Penang Government; but open interference in favour of either of the competitors was prohibited by the Supreme Government of India. Sir T. Stamford Raffles and Captain Combe were sent to Achin as commissioners in 1818, to ascertain the true state of the case; and although at first violently disagreeing, they at last united in recommending the claims of the old Sultan. Syf-ul-Alem was accordingly desired to desist from the contest, and to be content with a pension, payable nominally by the Sultan of Achin, but virtually by the Government of Penang.—Anderson's Achin and Ports of Sumatra. Memoirs of Sir T. S. Raffles, 396. Treaty with the King of Achin, 22nd of April, 1819. Treaties, Hastings' Papers, cxi.

which with various interruptions had subsisted for more than two centuries.

About the same time the attention of the Government of India was directed to the advantages of a commercial intercourse with the countries of Siam and Cochin China, which from having constituted an important branch of the trade of Europe with the East had fallen into neglect, and had finally been discontinued. It appeared advisable to the Governor-General to attempt the revival of the commerce, and Mr. J. Crawford was accordingly despatched in the character of agent to the Governor-General on a mission to the two states in question, in the hope that it might be found practicable to establish with them a permanent and mutually advantageous communication. The mission left Bengal in November, 1821, and arrived at Bangkok, the capital of Siam, in the following March. The members were admitted to a solitary audience of the King, but were referred to the ministers for the transaction of business. Nothing was transacted: the court of Siam ignorant of its own interests, suspicious of the real views of foreign visitors who came unbidden and unwished for, and affecting a majesty little inferior to divine, manifested no disposition to encourage the advances made by the British Government; and after treating the mission with various marks of indifference and indignity, dismissed it with an unmeaning and evasive treaty of commerce, and an arrogant letter to the Government of Bengal.¹

In addition to the ordinary motives influencing barbarous states, there was a political transaction which contributed to render the temper of the court of Siam unfavourable to an intimate intercourse—the asylum given to the Ex-Raja of Quêda in the settlement of Penang. This was a petty potentate, governing an inconsiderable territory opposite to Penang, which itself had formed part of his possessions and had been ceded by him to the British in consideration of an annual quit-rent. The king of Siam claimed the allegiance of Quêda, and in a recent

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1822.

¹ It was promised that the duties on British commerce should not be increased, and that the Superintendent of the Customs should afford all assistance to the English merchants in buying and selling with the merchants of Siam. In the letter, it is said that his Siamese Majesty was much gratified by the "offerings" (the presents) made by the Governor of Bengal.—Crawford's Mission to Siam, i. 266.

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dispute with the Burmans, had called upon him for his military quota. The Queda chief delayed compliance with the demand, and denied the right of Siam to anything more than a complimentary annual acknowledgment of its superior dignity and power. The Siamese troops were, in consequence, directed against Queda, and the Raja, unable to resist them, fled and made his escape to Penang, where he was permitted to reside and was protected against molestation. The Siamese ministers were anxious to obtain possession of the person of the Raja; no formal demand was made, but it was intimated that his seizure and delivery would be considered as a friendly act; and they were evidently disappointed on being told that such a violation of hospitality was incompatible with British principles. The reception given by the British Government to the king of Queda and the refusal to give him up, wounded the vanity of the Siamese court, and exercised a prejudicial influence upon the objects of the mission.

In the middle of July, the mission proceeded to Cochin China, and arrived at the capital in August. Much personal civility was exhibited by the officers of state, but the king declined to receive the letter and presents from the Governor-General, whom, as exercising a delegated authority only, he refused to recognise as the equal of a king: and on the same account would not condescend to admit the envoy to an audience. Permission was, however, readily granted to English vessels to trade with the principal ports of the kingdom; and it was promised that they should be treated on the same footing as the Chinese. The mission left in October, having gained little in the way of political or commercial advantage, but bringing back much novel and valuable information respecting countries little known in Europe.¹

Returning to Continental India, we have now to notice the state of the relations between the British Government and its subsidiary allies, as they subsisted after the termination of the Mahratta war. In the west of India, as we have already seen, the Gaekwar had been obliged to accede to a new treaty, stipulating for the augmentation of the forces which he was to maintain by the cession of ad-

¹ Journal of an Embassy to Siam and Cochin China, by J. Crawford. Account of a Mission to Siam and Cochin China, by D. Finlayson.

ditional territory. The measure was based upon the necessity of undertaking the whole military defence of Guzerat, and upon the advantages accruing to the Gaekwar from the treaty of Poona. These advantages were considerable; and apparently the finances of the state were in a sufficiently flourishing condition to bear the cost of additional expenditure. The arrangement was not altogether palatable to the court of Baroda, but its execution was unattended by any interruption of the good understanding which had been so long maintained between the two powers.

The conduct of the affairs of Guzerat had been entrusted, as has been mentioned, to Fateh Sing, the brother of the Gaekwar, with the co-operation and assistance of the British Resident. Fateh Sing died in June, 1818. As the combined administration had been attended with beneficial results, the arrangement was continued, and Syaji Rao, the younger brother of the deceased Prince, a youth of nineteen, was raised to the office of Dewan, or Prime Minister of Finance, the duties of which he was to discharge in concert with the Resident. The immature age of the Prince, and the state of parties at Baroda required, indeed, the continuance of British support, notwithstanding the causes in which intimate interference had originated,—the ruinous state of the revenues, and the embarrassments of the Gaekwar,—were supposed to exist no longer. The union of authority was not of long continuance. Towards the end of the following year, died the imbecile Anand Rao, the Gaekwar, whose nominal rule had been prolonged for so many years entirely by the support of the British Government. His death altered the aspect of affairs materially. Syaji Rao succeeded to the throne, and naturally concluded, that if he was fit to govern his country in the capacity of Dewan, he was equally capable of governing it as Raja, and it was no longer possible for the Resident to exercise the real administration, through the machinery of an incompetent minister, and an inefficient monarch.

The pretensions of the Gaekwar to independent authority were generally recognised; but it was considered to be inconsistent with the security of British interests and the prosperity of the country, to withdraw altogether from

BOOK II.
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1818.

the control over the expenditure which the Resident had hitherto maintained. In order to place the connexion, which was to be continued for the future, on a firm and lasting basis, the Governor of Bombay, the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, deemed it expedient to repair in person to Baroda, and to discuss with Syaji Rao the principles which were hereafter to regulate the intercourse between the two states. The necessity of prolonged interposition in the financial administration of Guzerat proved to be even more urgent than had been expected. Instead of a surplus revenue and an unembarrassed exchequer, it was discovered that the expenses of the two last years had exceeded the receipts, and that a debt, amounting to more than a crore of rupees,¹ still hung heavily upon the resources of the Government. The troops were also largely in arrear, and the tributaries of the Gaekwar in Kattiwar² and the Mahi-Kanta had been reduced to severe distress partly by the consequence of unfavourable seasons, but still more by the oppressive exactions of the agents of the native Government. It became necessary to remedy these evils. Loans were raised for the discharge of the existing debts at a reduced rate of interest, upon the security of assignments of the revenues, and, as before, under the guarantee of the British Government for their ultimate repayment. The collections made from the Gaekwar's tributaries were transferred entirely to British agency. Engagements were finally concluded with Syaji particularising the extent to which he was expected to acquiesce in the control of the Resident. All foreign affairs were to remain under the exclusive management of the British Government. The Gaekwar was to administer without restriction the internal government, provided he fulfilled the engagements for which the British Government was guarantee; but the Resident was to be apprised of all proposed financial measures at the commencement of each year, was to have free access to the public accounts whenever he required to

¹ Of this sum 27 lakhs had been borrowed for the pay of the Gaekwar's contingent serving in Malwa, and 25 lakhs more were still owing to the troops.

² In 1813, a famine occurred in Kattiwar, which was said to have caused the death of one-third of the population. It was followed by an epidemic disease, of which also great numbers died.—MS. Rec.

inspect them, and was to be consulted before any expense of magnitude was incurred. Whatever guarantees to ministers or other individuals had been granted by the British Government were to be scrupulously observed. The Gaekwar was to choose his own minister in communication with the British Government. In all cases of emergency, that Government was to offer its advice, but it was not to interpose in ordinary details, nor was its native agent to take a share as formerly in the Gaekwar's executive administration. With these arrangements Syaji was compelled to be content; and however they might encroach upon his independence, they provided more fully than an uncontrolled freedom of action was likely to provide, for his own comfort and the security and welfare of his dominions.'

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During the progress of these transactions, the British troops had been employed on various occasions, in suppressing tumults in different parts of the dependencies of Guzerat. The petty state of Pahlampur, the most remote of the divisions of the Mahi-Kanta, or country west of the Mahi river tributary to the Gaekwar, had long been in a state of anarchy. The ruling chief was a Mohammedan, the descendant of an Afghan adventurer, who established himself as Nawab, or Dewan, in that part of the frontier. About the year 1800, the mercenary soldiers in the service of Firoz Khan, the Dewan, expelled him, and placed his kinsman Shamshir Khan, the chief of Disa, on the Musnud. They afterwards recalled Firoz Khan, but again mutinying put him to death. It was then thought expedient by the Resident to interfere, and a British force was sent to Pahlampur in 1802, by which the mercenaries were reduced to order, and Fateh Khan, the son of Firoz Khan, a minor, was made Dewan, under the guardianship and regency of Shamshir Khan. When the young prince was old enough to manage his own affairs, the regent, as usual, was reluctant to relinquish his power; and continuing to act as regent, retained the prince in a state of captivity. Fateh Khan appealed to Baroda, and a division of the subsidiary force, under Colonel Elrington, marched to his succour, supported by a division of the Gaekwar's troops,

¹ Extract from a minute of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, 3rd May, 1820.—Report Commons Comm. 1832. Political App. 392.

BOOK II. under Major Miles, who was appointed Political Agent on
 CHAP. XI. the frontier. The strongholds in the mountains in the
 1820. interests of Shamskir Khan were taken, and Disa and
 Pahlampur recovered. The Nawab was rescued and re-
 seated on the Musnud. A Gackwar detachment was
 placed in charge of one of the gateways of the capital,
 a Political Agent was appointed to superintend the affairs
 of the principality, and hold in check the turbulent bor-
 der chiefs of the vicinity, as well as the robber tribes of
 the adjacent desert.

A second expedition against the piratical and plundering
 tribes of the northern coast of the peninsula of Guzerat
 became necessary in the beginning of 1820. The Wazars
 of Okamandal, encouraged by the withdrawal of the Bri-
 tish troops for the Mahratta war, rose in insurrection, de-
 feated the Gackwar's troops, surprised Dwaraka and Bate,
 and possessed themselves of the whole district. The fort
 of Viravali, defended by an Englishman in the Gackwar's
 service, held out for some time, but was at length aban-
 doned, and the province remained during the following
 months in the hands of the insurgents. As soon as the
 season admitted, an expedition, commanded by the Ho-
 nourable Lieutenant-Colonel Stanhope, was sent by sea
 against the sacred city of Dwaraka,¹ the chief seat of the
 rebels: the troops were landed on the 24th of November,
 and, after a short bombardment, the town was carried by
 escalade, when the garrison, composed of Arabs and Sind-
 his, retreated to the great temple, within whose lofty and
 solid walls they considered themselves secure from all
 ordinary attacks. An entrance was, however, effected from
 the roof of an adjacent house; and after a severe struggle
 the defenders were driven out. In endeavouring to es-
 cape, they were encountered by different detachments,
 posted to intercept their flight: to the thickets surround-
 ing the town, and were nearly all destroyed; of five hun-
 dred not more than one hundred escaped. This success
 was followed by the surrender of the chiefs who had taken
 up strong positions in the adjacent thickets, and by the
 unconditional surrender of the Rana of Bate, who was at

¹ The force was composed of H. M.'s 65th regiment, two battalions of Bom-
 bay infantry, 2nd battalion 3rd, and 1st batt. 5th, details of artillery, and the
 1st regiment Native cavalry. The Nautilus cruiser conveyed the transports.

the head of the insurrection. The garrison of Bate also surrendered, on condition of being transported to the opposite coast of Cutch, and the district of Okamandal was restored once more to tranquillity and obedience.

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In the centre of the peninsula of Guzerat, a similar cause, the absence of regular troops, was followed by like disturbances. A family feud arrayed one branch of a Katti tribe, the Koman Kattis, in arms against another; and as both parties assembled mercenary troops which they had not adequate means of maintaining, they added to their resources by plundering the neighbouring districts of Junagerh and Bhaonagar. The suppression of disorder in Okamandal permitted the employment of a portion of the division in a different quarter; and Colonel Stanhope marched with a detachment of European and a battalion of Native Infantry, against the Kattis. They were easily reduced to submission, their principal fort of Mitiala was taken with little difficulty, the mercenaries were compelled to quit the country, and the chiefs obliged to submit their quarrel to the decision of the court of Baroda. Although the subordination which had been now established for some years in the centre and south of Kattiwar had somewhat impaired the martial spirit of its population, yet these occurrences sufficiently proved that tranquillity could be preserved solely by the continued presence of a British military force.

A similar state of disorder prevailed in the territories of the Nizam, and obedience to the Government was alone maintained by frequent recourse to military coercion. It was inflicted, however, chiefly by the reformed brigades of the Nizam, who, under the command of British officers, and receiving their pay with a greater degree of punctuality than the other troops of the state, were little less effective than the subsidiary force. They had been fully organized during the late war, and amounted at this time to five regiments of cavalry, eight of infantry, three small corps of artillery, and a corps of engineers. With the termination of hostilities their field-services had ceased, but they were not suffered to remain idle in a country where extortionate exaction on one side and refractory turbulence on the other furnished repeated occasion for their employment. Among the duties of this nature which

BOOK II. devolved upon them was the reduction of the strong fort
 CHAP. XI. of Nowa, held by a garrison of Arabs in the pay of some
 ———— Hindu Zemindars, who had risen in insurrection and plundered the neighbouring districts. A detachment of the Nizam's reformed troops, under Major Pitman, marched against this place, situated above 24 miles north of Nandain, on the Godaveri. On the 7th January 1819, approaches were regularly effected, and the garrison having refused to surrender unconditionally, the fort was carried by storm after the destruction of part of its defences by the successful explosion of a mine on the 31st of the month. Many of the garrison fell in the storm, the rest endeavouring to escape, were intercepted by the horse, and were almost all put to death.

Notwithstanding the severity of the examples thus made from time to time, it was found impossible to preserve tranquillity as long as the vicious system of the administration was unreformed. The Nizam continued sullenly estranged from public affairs, and when importuned for an opinion upon any subject of Government, replied that he had no interest in the matter, and that it would be settled by Chandu Lal and the Resident. Chandu Lal, although a minister of unquestioned ability and diligence, and the only individual about the court capable of discharging the functions of his office, was profusely prodigal in his expenditure of the public revenue, and as rapaciously insatiable in his exactions. The prodigality by which he was characterised, originated in a great degree in his apprehensions. Strong as he might have felt himself in the support of the British Government, he knew that he was disliked by the Nizam and odious to the Courtiers, and that projects were constantly agitated for his removal and disgrace. To appease this enmity, and to neutralize its inveteracy, he distributed money without limit to the extravagant and profligate nobles, bribes to all their retainers and connexions,¹ and large sums to the private hoards of the Nizam himself. He maintained also

¹ In a conversation with the Resident, Munir-ul-Mulk, the nominal minister, and uncle of one of the Begums, he affirmed that the whole of the Nizam's family was bribed, that every one of his own servants was in Chandu Lal's pay, and that even his own mother-in-law sent to the minister a daily report of the occurrences of the inmost recesses of his house.—Hyderabad Papers, p. 184.

an expensive and useless body of mercenary troops, and had, in addition to these wasteful and mischievous sources of outlay, to provide for the charge of the reformed troops, which, however serviceable to him and to his allies, constituted a heavy burthen upon the resources of the state. To raise the sums required for these disbursements, the minister contracted debts to the bankers and capitalists of Hyderabad, bearing an interest proportionate to his necessities and to his want of credit, and let out the revenues of the country to the highest bidder. The contractor, regarding nothing but the realization of a profit, and armed with powers to enforce payment of his demands, however excessive, levied whatever he could extort from the cultivators by every method of violence and oppression. The consequences were obvious; cultivation fell off, the necessaries of life rose almost to famine prices, the people became robbers for the sake of subsistence, or emigrated to other states, and the country was rapidly becoming depopulated. Justice was no longer administered, and the Government was threatened with annihilation. The earnest remonstrances of the Resident had little effect upon the improvident recklessness of the minister; but his representations to the Government of Bengal procured for him authority to exercise a more decided interposition. He was instructed to employ his advice and influence for the establishment of the prosperity of the Nizam's dominions and the happiness of his subjects, and with this view to direct his attention to the following topics:—A salutary control over the internal administration of the country; accurate accounts of all establishments, receipts, and expenditure; the correction of abuses; a proper distribution of justice; the reduction of expense; the amelioration of the revenue system, including the customs and duties levied on commerce; the improvement of resources; the extinction of debt; the efficiency of the troops retained and the discharge of such as were useless. In order to reconcile the Nizam to this interposition, his sons, who had been hitherto detained in Golconda, were allowed to return to Hyderabad, and he was informed that he was at liberty, if he pleased, to assume the title of royalty.¹

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¹ Letter from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal to H. Russell, Esq. Resident at Hyderabad, 22nd Jan. 1820.—Hyderabad Papers, p. 93.

BOOK II. The authority thus granted to the Resident, Mr. Russell,
 CHAP. XI. was but sparingly applied, and few changes of any im-
 1821. portance were effected in the administration before his
 departure for Europe. His successor, Sir Charles Metcalfe,
 finding the principality still in a condition of utter dis-
 organization, and considering it to be upon the brink of
 dissolution,¹ engaged more strenuously in the task of
 reform, and compelled the assent of the Minister to
 various unpalatable measures. The chief of these was
 the abolition of the farming system and the settlement of
 the revenue for a definite term of years with the village
 communities, without any intermediate agency. The col-
 lections were left in the hands of the fiscal functionaries
 of the state, but the assessments were made by British
 officers attached to the Residency, or to the reformed
 troops;—they were further directed to receive all com-
 plaints against any irregularity or extortion on the part
 of the collectors, and where redress was not procurable
 from the local authorities to report the proceedings to
 the Resident. They were also empowered to seize upon
 all robbers and plunderers, and violators of the public
 peace. The sphere of this arrangement was limited to
 the northern division of Hyderabad. Chandu Lal, pro-
 fessing a desire to co-operate in the work, undertook to
 conduct the settlement of the southern districts. In the
 latter, the reform was accordingly defeated, the collectors
 becoming contractors for the amount to be levied; in the
 former, the beneficial results of the measure were soon
 apparent in the return of the peasantry to their villages,
 the revival of cultivation, the suppression of tumult and
 plunder, and the progressive increase and prosperity of
 the population.

¹ "The system of administering the revenue was that of farming. Large tracts of country were made over to whomsoever could best afford to pay for them. Portions of these tracts were again sublet to other farmers. Large advances were taken from all in anticipation of the collections, and the tenure was so insecure, that it was a common saying in the country that these farmers proceeded from the capital to their districts, looking over their shoulders to see if other farmers were not following on their heels. These farmers were supreme in the districts which they farmed: they had even the power of life and death in their own hands, and there was no appeal from them or their tax-gatherers to the Government or the laws."—Sutherland's *Sketches of Relations with Native Powers*, p. 55. Captain Sutherland was seven years in Hyderabad, and was "a witness of the afflictions in which the reign of Chandu Lal in the Hyderabad provinces, and of his brother, Govind Baksh, in those of Berar, involved this unhappy country."

BOOK II. of which the correction must be attempted with imperfect
 CHAP. XI. and restricted means, when it has to encounter the open
 1820. or secret opposition of the Prince, and depends upon the
 instrumentality of agents ill affected to reforms of any
 description, and more inclined to thwart than to promote
 them. The remedies must consequently be of partial
 and temporary efficacy, and their effects will cease as soon
 as their application is suspended. To interpose for a
 season is nugatory;—to interpose for perpetuity is, in
 reality, to assume the internal administration of the
 country. The real question then is—Is the Prince inde-
 pendent? Has he the right to govern or misgovern his
 own subjects at his own pleasure?

The degree of independence enjoyed by a prince con-
 nected with the British Indian Government by a subsidiary
 alliance depends, theoretically at least, upon the manner
 in which it is recognised by the terms of the compact
 into which he has entered. In the case of the Nizam,
 the language of the treaty is explicit: it declares that
 the Honourable Company's Government have no manner
 of concern with any of the Nizam's children, relations,
 subjects, or servants, with respect to whom his Highness
 is absolute;¹—a declaration utterly incompatible with
 the reforms introduced into his administration without
 his sanction, and with the avowed purpose of protecting
 his subjects against his servants—of withdrawing his
 peasantry from the authority of the agents of his chief
 minister and acknowledged representative.

In opposition to the general arguments against inter-
 ference with the internal administration of a native prince,
 whose political existence is maintained by a subsidiary
 force, it is argued that the connection involves the duty
 of protecting the people against his tyranny. We have
 taken from them, it is urged, the ability to protect them-
 selves. The great check upon despotism in the East is
 assumed to be popular insurrection. If left to his own re-
 sources, the prince would be unable to put down extensive
 discontent by force, and would, therefore, either be cau-
 tious how he provoked dissatisfaction, or would readily
 retract the measures which had created it; but, with a
 large body of disciplined troops at his command, whose

¹ Treaty with the Nizam, 1800, ch. xv.—Collections of Treaties, 193.

strength renders resistance hopeless. he has nothing to fear from the resentment of his people, and may exercise with impunity any degree of oppression of which his nature is suggestive. It is, therefore, the right of the power which gives him all his strength to require that he shall use it wisely and mercifully, and if he be regardless of the obligation, to throw its shield over those who would otherwise be the victims of a confederacy formed to protect the Prince against foreign enemies and domestic treason, to secure his personal safety, and the integrity of his dominions, but not to screen him from the just indignation of his subjects. But a right to support the people against the will of the sovereign is obviously incompatible with the recognition of his independence, and is further objectionable, inasmuch as it provides a convenient pretext for depriving him of his sovereign character — of virtually accomplishing his deposal. Such an usurpation, however it may be palliated by an undeniable necessity, can scarcely be vindicated as a right, and the necessity must be undeniable before the interposition to this extent can admit of extenuation. It may be doubted also, if the grounds upon which such interference is supposed to be justifiable can be substantiated. There is no record in Indian history of the despotism of its princes having been curbed by popular insurrection. Deposal and death have not unfrequently been the fate of Indian monarchs, but they have been the work of treacherous ministers or of competitors for the throne, in whose selfish policy the people felt little concern. The dread of such an event based upon experience of the past, is not likely to operate as a check upon misgovernment, and its non-occurrence is in no wise attributable to awe of a subsidiary force. Local tumults may not be uncommon, but they arise out of resistance to the exactions of the Collector or farmer of the revenue, not to the authority of the sovereign, and are as often ascribable to the refractory spirit of the military landholder, the Rajput Zemindar, who mounts guns upon the bastions of his fort, as to the extortion of the public functionary. No obligation exists to interfere in such a quarrel; the services of the subsidiary troops are not intended for such purposes, and, if withheld, it cannot then be maintained that the Prince is able to

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BOOK II. Tyrannise over his subjects only through British assistance.
CHAP. XI. Revenue disputes between the farmer of the revenue and the Zemindar, cannot be regarded as justifying the appropriation of the sovereign authority; and it is only when universal disorder is to be apprehended, or when the conditions and objects of the alliance are imperilled, that the authoritative interposition of the more powerful of the contracting parties can admit of justification.

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Such indeed, it might be said, was the origin of the interference in the case of Hyderabad. The political interests of British India were considered to be endangered by the conduct of the Nizam, and it became necessary for their security to establish a commanding influence in his councils, by disallowing the right of the Prince to nominate his own minister, and compelling him to intrust the office to a person selected by his allies. Chandu Lal had been placed and was retained in his position by the power of the British Government. That power was consequently responsible for the manner in which he discharged his functions, and was bound to correct or cancel whatever arrangements he should make which might be pernicious to the welfare of the state, and to the interests of both prince and people. The interposition of the Resident at Hyderabad was, therefore, authorised by the conduct of preceding governments, in establishing the form of administration which now prevailed, and which, however anomalous, could scarcely be altered with advantage, as, notwithstanding his defects, Chandu Lal was the only person about the Court who was fitted by his talents, industry, and character, to hold the reins of government. The arrangements were, therefore, undisturbed until deference to the sentiments expressed by the Court of Directors, and the adoption of other views by succeeding Governors and Residents, imposed a check upon the employment of British functionaries in the civil administration of the Nizam's territories, and suffered them to relapse into a worse condition even than that from which their extrication had been attempted.

Among the sources of difficulty and embarrassment in which the Administration of Chandu Lal was entangled, and in which the credit of the Government of India became implicated, was his financial connection with a house

of business established at Hyderabad, with the sanction and countenance of the British Government. Mr. William Palmer, who had been engaged for several years in the military service of the Nizam, quitted it for the business of a banker and merchant, in Hyderabad. He was joined at an early period by some of the officers of the Residency, and received the general countenance of the Resident, at whose suggestion an application made to him in 1814, by the house of W. Palmer and Co., for permission to set up a commercial establishment at the capital of the Nizam, was favourably received by the Government of Bengal: he was, consequently, instructed to show the firm every proper degree of encouragement consistent with the provisions of the treaty, and to recommend them to the Nizam's Government. The permission had been obviously anticipated, and the house had already been constituted; but it being formally sanctioned gave additional activity to the business of the firm, and the members became intimately associated with Chandu Lal in raising pecuniary supplies for his financial necessities.

In the year 1816, the house of W. Palmer and Co. professed to entertain doubts whether their pecuniary dealings with the Nizam's Government might not subject them to the penalties of the Act of Parliament,¹ which interdicted loans to native princes by British subjects, and prayed to be exempted from the operation of the law. Impressed with the belief, that the interests of the Nizam and of the Company were promoted by the success and security of the commercial and pecuniary transactions of the firm, the exemption was granted by the Governor-General in council, under the dispensing power which he inferred that he possessed according to the terms of the Act,² with this reservation alone, that it should be at the discretion of the Resident to satisfy himself at any time, of the nature and objects of the transactions in which Messrs. Palmer and Co. might engage in consequence of

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¹ Act 87th George III., cap. 142, sec. 28. See extract.—Hyderabad Papers, 8.

² The act prohibits the pecuniary transactions, &c., "unless consented to, and approved of, by the Governor-General in Council in writing."—Hyd. Papers, p. 8. The legality of the sanction was confirmed by the opinion of the Advocate-General, by whom the instrument conveying the licence solicited was drawn up. Ibid. p. 5.

BOOK II. the permission then granted. With this sanction, the
 CHAP. XI. house was allowed to carry on extensive negotiations with
 1820. the Minister, and, among other pecuniary transactions, was employed, with the cognizance and consent of the Government of Bengal, to provide the pay of the reformed troops in Berar and Aurungabad; none of the native bankers, it being asserted, being willing to advance the funds at the same rate of interest, or on the security of assignments of revenue, and the regular payment of the troops being indispensable to their efficiency at a season when their services were most important:¹ the sanction involving, according to the expressed admission of the firm, no further pledge of support than the general countenance afforded to their establishment, which was indispensable for their existence in a country where there were no regular courts of judicature.

This arrangement had scarcely been completed (May, 1820), when one of a still more comprehensive character was proposed by Chandu Lal, for the Resident's sanction—the negotiation of a loan of sixty lakhs of rupees (600,000*l.*) from the house of Palmer and Co.; the amount being absolutely necessary, according to the Minister's statement, to enable him to discharge the arrears due to the public establishments, which he was anxious to reduce to the extent of twenty-five lakhs a year—to pay off heavy incumbrances due by the Nizam's Government to native bankers and others, and to make advances to the Ryots, in order to restore to them the means of cultivating the lands which had fallen into neglect. As the objects contemplated by the Minister were of undeniable benefit to the Nizam's country, and as, according to the Resident's showing, they were not attainable through any other agency on equally advantageous terms, this loan also was sanctioned—the sanction being understood to be of a general nature, involving no pecuniary responsibility.²

¹ Political Letter from Bengal, 20th Oct. 1820. ~ Hyd. Papers, p. 8.

² Letter from W. Palmer and Co., 19th May, 1820, to the Resident:—"We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date. By the security which we require from the Resident, we do not mean to imply any security by which the British Government should be responsible for the money we should lend to the Minister; all we require is the certainty that the Resident will use his influence to prevent our being defrauded, or any misappropriation made of the revenues of the Talooks on which we are to have

Shortly after, authority was granted to this last loan, respecting which much difference of opinion prevailed in the Council of Bengal, communications were received from the Court of Directors, expressing in strong terms their disapproval of the whole of the transactions. Reasoning from experience of the past abuses which had disgraced the pecuniary dealings of British subjects with native princes, they anticipated a like result from the present, and positively enjoined the annulment of the exemption which had been granted to Messrs. W. Palmer and Co., from the penalties imposed by the Legislature. They also directed, that the countenance shown by the Government to the house, should be strictly confined to those objects of a commercial nature which the partners originally professed to have in view; and that if any discussion should arise between the Nizam's Government and the firm, in respect to their pecuniary transactions, the British Government should abstain from interposing in favour of their claims. These orders were communicated to the mercantile house, and their future pecuniary dealings with the Minister were interdicted.¹

Soon after the appointment of Sir Charles Metcalfe, it was discovered that no progress had been made in the reduction of the expenditure of the state, and that the financial difficulties of the Minister were such as to threaten public insolvency, while the system of exaction was as unrelentingly practised as before. The measures adopted to check the latter have been adverted to, the former pressed equally upon the Resident's attention. Among the chief of the Minister's embarrassments, were the engagements he had contracted with the house of Palmer and Co., and the debts due to the firm, amounting now to nearly a million sterling, bearing an interest of twenty-four per cent. Little improvement could be expected until an adjustment of these claims should be accomplished; and the accounts of the house were subjected to a scrutiny, by which it appeared that the deal-

assignments. We shall never require that influence to be exerted beyond the point to which the Resident can go without making it a discussion between our Government and the Nizam's. We are, &c."—Hyd. Papers, p. 42.

¹ Letter to Bengal, 24th May, 1820.—Hyd. Papers, p. 6. Letter to the Resident, 16th December, 1820, p. 70.

BOOK II. ings formed no exception to the character which applied
 CHAP. XI. to such former pecuniary transactions as the Legislature
 1825. had intended to prohibit. Besides the high amount of
 interest—which, although less than the rate usually
 charged by native bankers lending money to the Minister,
 without the collateral security of the influence of the
 Resident, and in addition to large pensions and gratuities
 settled upon the members of the firm and their connec-
 tions and dependants—it appeared that the loan of sixty
 lakhs was an arrangement, which had mainly in view the
 consolidation of the debts due to the house, and left all
 other demands, all arrears of the establishment, unpro-
 vided for, notwithstanding the Minister's assertion, that
 it had enabled him to pay off and discharge a considerable
 portion of the superfluous servants of the government.
 Such being the conclusion drawn by the supreme au-
 thority from an examination of the accounts, the counte-
 nance of the Government was finally withdrawn from the
 house, and Chandu Lal was required to close his account
 with the firm, to enable him to do which, the Government
 of India undertook to supply the funds.¹ A peshkash, or
 tribute of seven lakhs of rupees a year had hitherto been
 paid to the Nizam by the Company for the northern
 Circars, and the consent of the Minister was obtained to
 the redemption of this tribute for ever, by the immediate
 payment of little more than a crore of rupees, by which
 he was enabled to extricate himself from the embarrass-
 ments in which his improvidence and the cupidity of
 others had involved his administration.

The favour which had been shown to the house of
 Palmer and Co. by the Governor-General was contem-

¹ It appears, that when application was made for the sanction of the British Government to a loan of sixty lakhs, that sum was about the amount of the balances existing against the Nizam's Government in the books of Messrs. Wm. Palmer and Co.

On Hyderabad account	Rps. 26,82,402
“ Ahmedabad ditto	13,15,669
Berar Suwar ditto	20,57,219

Rps. 60,55,290

Letter from the Resident, 14th June, 1825. Hyd. Papers, 554.—This loan of sixty lakhs was contracted for on a reduced interest of 15 per cent. per annum, but of the total, eight lakhs were a bonus. The sum transferred was fifty-two lakhs, whilst interest on sixty was charged.—Ibid. According, however, to a statement made at a subsequent date by Mr. Russell, considerable pecuniary advances were made by the house on the Hyderabad account.—Debate E. I. House, 18th February, 1825.

plated with distrust by the Authorities in England ; and it was attributed rather to personal motives, than those which had been assigned — the advantages accruing to the Government of the Nizam from the pecuniary assistance derived from such a source.¹ The question gave rise to long and acrimonious discussions in the Court of Proprietors, which ended in the complete vindication of the integrity of the Marquis of Hastings, but exercised an unpropitious influence upon his fortunes. These proceedings took place at a date subsequent to the period under review ; but it will be convenient to notice them in this place, in order to dispose of the subject at once.

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On the 3rd of March, 1824, a motion was introduced into the Court of Proprietors, by the Honourable Douglas Kinnaird, recommending to the Court of Directors to consider and report the means and measure of such a pecuniary grant to the Marquis of Hastings as should be worthy of the gratitude of the Company, and of the eminent services of the Governor-General. The motion was met by an amendment, calling for the papers and documents necessary to illustrate the transactions at Hyderabad ; and this was altered to a motion for the printing of all the correspondence and other documents upon the public records which regarded the administration of the Marquis of Hastings as Governor-General of India, and which might enable the Court to judge of the propriety of entertaining the question of a further pecuniary reward to the late Governor-General. The motion in this shape received the concurrence of the Court.

The printing of the voluminous documents thus called for, which had the collateral effect of placing within the reach of the public a mass of most valuable and interesting information, necessarily occupied a long interval, and nearly twelve months elapsed before any proceedings

¹ The Marquis of Hastings avowed an interest in the prosperity of the house, in consequence of a gentleman of his family, Sir William Vambold, (Papers, 44) being one of the partners, but his support was based upon a belief that the house rendered important public services both to the British Government and that of the Nizam ; and he was not aware of the unavowed advantages enjoyed by the partners, or the real character of their dealings with the Nizam. As soon as he learned, or had reason to suspect the truth, he expressed his strong sense of their impropriety.—Letter to Sir Charles Metcalfe from the Secretary to the Government, 13th September, 1822.—Hyd. Papers, 186.

BOOK II. founded upon them could be held. On the 11th of Feb-
 CHAP. XI. ruary, 1825, the papers relating to the loans made to the
 1823. Nizam were taken into consideration, upon a motion made
 by Mr. Kinnaird, that there was nothing contained in
 those documents which tended to affect in the slightest
 degree the personal character or integrity of the late
 Governor-General. The proposition was subjected to an
 amendment by Mr. Astell, the chairman, but acting in his
 capacity of proprietor only, by which the Court was called
 upon, while admitting that the papers furnished no ground
 for imputing corrupt motives to the Marquis of Hastings,
 to approve of certain despatches sent by the Court to the
 Bengal Government—despatches which censured in strong
 terms the encouragement given to the pecuniary transac-
 tions between the house of Palmer and Co., and the
 Government of the Nizam. A debate arose upon these
 propositions, which extended through seven days, and was
 conducted with great heat and virulence on either side,
 and diverged into much irrelevant and personal matter.
 The amendment was finally carried by ballot.¹

In the first of these despatches, approbation of which
 was thus voted, the Court denied the necessity and ques-
 tioned the legality of the dispensation which had released
 Messrs. Palmer and Co. from the operation of the Act of
 Parliament, prohibiting loans by Europeans to Native
 Princes, and peremptorily ordered, that, upon the receipt
 of the letter, the license should be immediately cancelled
 and revoked, and positively forbidding, should any discus-
 sions arise between the house and the Nizam's Govern-
 ment, respecting any pecuniary transactions between
 them, the interposition, in any way whatever, of the
 name, authority, influence, or good offices of the British
 Government, for the furtherance of their demands. The
 tone of the letter was evidently inspired by a suspicion of
 the motives of the Governor-General, and undervalued the
 considerations by which the indulgence was capable of
 extenuation,—a belief in its legality, founded upon the

¹ 18th March, 1825.

For the Amendment	575
Against	363

Majority 212

Full reports of the previous debates will be found in the *Monthly Asiatic Journals*, for 1824 and 1825.

opinion of the first legal authority in India, the Company's Advocate-General, by whom the licence itself was drawn up, — reliance on the judgment of the Resident, who had acquired, by long experience, a thorough knowledge of the condition of the Nizam's affairs, and who recommended the measure, — and a conviction that much benefit had already accrued from the commercial operations of the House. The sanction granted was, therefore, no intended violation of the law, nor was any sacrifice of public to private interests imagined to be involved in the permission.¹

The record of the inculpatory letters, 28th November, 1821, first referred to a special transaction, in which the Government had sanctioned, prior to the receipt of the preceding despatch, the undertaking of the house to issue pay to the Nizam's reformed troops at Aurungabad, at the rate of two lakhs of rupees per month, on the receipt of assignments for thirty lakhs a-year, being equivalent to an interest of 25 per cent. Confirmation of this arrangement had been strongly urged upon the Government by the Resident, but it was not granted without hesitation and inquiry; the Resident was required to furnish further explanations, and the house was desired to submit its accounts to the Council. This was at first objected to, but the condition was eventually complied with; when the Governor-General declined the examination, and, upon the explanations submitted by the Resident, sanctioned the arrangement. The Court complained that the explanations were not satisfactory, — that the advances had, in fact, been commenced without waiting for the sanction applied for, — that the maintenance of regularly organised troops by Native Princes was a measure of doubtful expedience, — and that, allowing the necessity of providing for their pay, it did not appear to have been necessary to have recourse to the agency of European capitalists, as

¹ Mr. Edmonstone, who at the date of the licence, was a member of the Government, and was present in the debate of 1825, as a Director, while he subscribed to the opinion of the legal authorities in England of the illegality of the licence, and admitted that the grant of it was indirect, as made with imperfect information as to the extent of the dealings which it authorised, maintained that with the legal opinions furnished, and acting under the information possessed, the Government was not to blame in acceding to the application of Palmer and Company. Report, Debate of 3rd March, 1825, A.J. vol. 19, p. 572.

BOOK II. the money might have been raised from the bankers of
 CHAP. XI. Hyderabad, at a much lower rate of interest, or the Nizam
 1823. might have been induced to advance it. This last supposition was hazarded upon a total forgetfulness of the passion of all Native Princes for hoarding treasure, and that such a propensity was peculiarly characteristic of the head of the Government of Hyderabad. The possibility of raising loans on easier terms from the native bankers was contingent upon the grant to them of the like support which the European house had been led to expect. Assured if the promised interposition of the Resident, the native bankers might have been induced to provide the funds at a similar rate on the same securities; but without it the Resident was fully warranted in asserting, that they would not have given any pecuniary aid to the Minister upon assignments, the realisation of which was notoriously uncertain. The policy of maintaining the reformed troops was a different question; but while they were maintained, it was necessary to keep them orderly and effective, and this was only to be done by securing them their regular pay. It appeared also from the answers of the Resident, that the collection of the revenue was effected without any undue interference with the native functionaries. Whatever required to be cleared up, was placed in the hands of the Government by the house by the final submission of their accounts; and the only point in which the Government exposed itself to the charge of insufficient investigation and precaution, was the determination not to examine the documents. The reason assigned for such forbearance was was ill-calculated to recommend it to the Authorities at home, as it implied their incapacity to form an accurate judgment of statements which, if recorded on the proceedings of the Council, must come under their examination. The excuse was untenable, and the omission to inspect the accounts was unseasonable and injudicious, although it scarcely warranted the inference drawn from it by the Court,—that it evinced a determination in the Bengal Government to disavow all responsibility; to throw off the check of the Authorities in England; to do whatever it chose to do; and to communicate to the Court no more than it thought fit. Neither did it justify the accusation contained in the same letter, that the

Government of Bengal had in substance, if not in form, lent the Company's credit in the late pecuniary transactions at Hyderabad, not for the benefit of the Nizam's government, but for the sole benefit of Messrs. William Palmer and Company. Although not indifferent to the advantages of the house, the permission to embark in pecuniary dealings with the Nizam's minister, had been throughout based upon the representations of the Resident, that they were indispensably necessary for the solvency of the Hyderabad State, and that they had produced, and were producing the most beneficial consequences. The information might have been erroneous, the decision might have been, as it was, ill-judged; but there was no room to impute any intention to benefit individuals solely by injury to an ally.

The same letter adverted to the negotiations for the sixty lakhs, to which also sanction had been granted before the arrival of the inhibitory despatch. At this date, the Court was not apprised of the character given to this transaction by subsequent inquiry; nor was it suspected by the Government, when its sanction was conceded. The only grounds of disapprobation here taken, therefore, were the imperfect information possessed by the Government, and the possibility that the money might have been borrowed on better terms from the native bankers; the latter was a gratuitous supposition; the former a substantial objection, to an extent of which the Court was not itself aware. The same despatch inferred, that from the time the licence was cancelled, the authorised engagement for the payment of the Berar troops, must have ceased; and directed that if such was not the case, the house should be commanded to bring it forthwith to a termination.

The third of the documents approved of by the Court, was a letter of the 9th of April, 1823, inclosing the opinions of his Majesty's Attorney and Solicitor-General, and of the Company's standing counsel, that loans by British subjects to native Princes were illegal, whether made in their territories or those of the Company; and that in either territory it was also unlawful for British subjects to lend money at a rate exceeding twelve per cent. This view of the law was, however, declared to be erroneous by Chief

BOOK II.
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1823.

BOOK II. Justice Best, in expressing the unanimous sense of the
 CHAP. XI. Judges to the House of Lords, in favour of a declaratory
 Bill to that effect, brought in by the Marquis of Hastings.¹

1823.

According to this high authority, Acts of the British Parliament could not regulate the practice of foreign States; and penal statutes could not be applicable to dominions in which British Courts had no jurisdiction.

The last letter for which the Directors claimed the approval of the Proprietors, was of a later date, 21st January, 1824, and reviewed the whole of the proceedings of the Government of Bengal in regard to the transactions at Hyderabad. In this they complained that their instructions had been imperfectly and tardily obeyed, in regard to the Aurungabad contract, which, although ordered to be put a stop to in 1820, had been suffered to proceed until the middle of 1822, and that in consequence, the house claimed arrears from the Nizam's government. This was partly, however, the consequence of their own injunctions in a former letter, in which they expressed their desire to avoid any precipitate measures which might tend to impair the credit of the firm.

The letter also analyses the pecuniary transactions of the house with the Nizam, and justly condemns the total absence of that scrutiny which it was the duty of the Resident to have exercised as a condition of the licence. A variety of transactions are pointed out, regarding which it does not seem that any information whatever was ever furnished to the Government, and which were engaged in without such reference, under what was considered to be a general licence, a construction warranted, perhaps, by the literal tenor of the authority granted to the house, but evidently incompatible with the provision that the Resident should be aware of all the proceedings of the house of such a description. The Sixty-lakh Loan is also designated as, in great part, a mere transfer of old debts to a new account, by which the sanction of the Government was obtained to a debt, the existence of which was not known when the sanction was given. The whole amount of debt claimed by the house is stated to be ninety-six lakhs, in December 1822. Undoubtedly the Court had good reason to question the character of this

¹ Proceedings in the House of Lords, June, 1825. Asiatic Journal.

Loan, the accounts of which are clouded by great obscurity, and the real nature of which was not distinctly appreciated by the Government of Bengal as it ought to have been before their sanction to it was granted.

BOOK II.

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A considerable portion of the despatch is dedicated to the reprobation of the undue influence of the house in the councils of the Nizam, and their instigation of the Minister to prefer complaints privately against the new Resident, and the Governor-General. It cannot be denied that the Court was justified in condemning the readiness of the Governor-General to entertain, in opposition to all the members of his council, a belief that Sir Charles Metcalfe was induced by personal pique and jealousy, rather than by a dispassionate regard for the credit of his own Government, and the interests of the Nizam, to picture the dealings of the house in exaggerated and undeserved colours; and they were not unwarranted in inferring that the measure of indulgence shown towards Messrs. Palmer and Co., could be ascribed only to a strong personal bias in behalf of some, at least, of the individuals concerned.

The relief of the Minister's financial embarrassments by the reformation of his revenue system, through the agency of European officers, is objected to by the Court as strongly as by the Governor-General; but blame is imputed to the Government that its reprehension was not earlier pronounced, a consideration of secondary importance, as, after all, the arrangement was not disturbed. So in regard to the advance of money from the Company's treasury to the Minister, to pay off his debts, inasmuch as the measure was finally approved of, the Court's censure of the delay which occurred between the first rejection of the plan in 1820, and its ultimate adoption in 1822, seems to have been uncalled for, especially as they admit that they participated in the doubts entertained by the Governor-General of the legality of such interference, upon which ground he had originally opposed the proposition. His final acquiescence was based upon the implied approbation of such an arrangement deduced from general expressions in the Court's letter of November 1821, of the preferableness of a loan by the Company, to one by a mercantile house. They deny the justice of

BOOK II. the inference, and, perhaps, with reason ; but the best
 CHAP. XI. defence of the inconsistency will be found in the altered
 feelings with which the Governor-General now regarded
 1823. the proceedings of Palmer and Co. In 1820, he had not
 received the Court's orders to cancel the licence, and conscientiously believed that the proceedings were legal and that they were to benefit the Nizam. In 1822, he was not only in possession of the sentiments of the Court, but had discovered that the operations of the house were calculated to embarrass, not to relieve, the difficulties of the Nizam's Government, and that it had become necessary to adopt some other mode of supplying the requisite funds.

Upon a review of these transactions, it must be admitted, that the objections which were taken by the Court, and, in fact, confirmed by the Board of Control, with whose concurrence the despatches in question were forwarded, were substantially just. Some of the arguments may be regarded as captious, and inapplicable to local circumstances, and they show an unfair disposition to identify the Governor-General with Messrs. Palmer and Co. Although it is not expressed, and, perhaps, not intended, there runs, also, throughout the correspondence an indication of a suspicion, of unworthy motives, and the language is frequently unsuited to the high station and character, both of those from whom it proceeds, and the noble individual to whom it is addressed. Yet it is not to be denied, that the personal interest taken in the successful operations of the house, the ready acquiescence with which their applications and representations were received, and the reluctance to admit anything in their disfavour until it could no longer be disputed that they had taken undue advantage of the confidence which had been shown them, were incompatible with the duties of the Governor-General, were an injudicious departure from the caution which experience of the past had suggested in regard to pecuniary transactions between Europeans and Natives of rank, were detrimental to the ally whom it was intended to serve, and subjected the Company to serious embarrassment and loss. The justice of these conclusions enabled the Court to triumph over an opposition which was conducted with remarkable ability and energy, and which

derived a powerful support from the unimpeached integrity of the Marquis of Hastings, and the unquestionable merits of his general administration.

We have now to direct our attention to the principality of Oude, where, in the estimation of the Governor-General, abstinence from interposition had been attended by the happiest consequences. It had not, however, wholly obviated the necessity of calling out regular troops against refractory Zemindars, and in the beginning of 1822 above seventy of their forts, in the vicinity of Sultanpur, were occupied and dismantled by a British detachment. Nor were the unassisted means of the Oude Government able to suppress the bands of armed robbers who haunted the jungles on the frontier, and made frequent and desperate inroads into the British territories. Their lurking-places were occasionally penetrated, and their villages destroyed; but the connivance of the Oude police and the secret encouragement of the neighbouring Zemindars sheltered them from any very severe retaliation.¹

Little advantage to the principality was to be expected from a change which took place at this season in the designation of its sovereign, who, with the consent of the Governor-General, assumed the title and the style of King. He was designated Abu Muzaffar, Moiz-ud-din, Shah-i-Zaman, Ghazi-ud-din Hyder Shah, Padshah-i-Awadh: the Victorious — the Upholder of the Faith — the King of the Age — Ghazi-ud-din Hyder Shah — King of Oude. The assumption of Shah Zaman was at first objected to,

¹ Between 1815 and 1820 there had been forty gang-robberies on the frontier adjacent to Oude, in which forty persons were killed, one hundred and seventy wounded, and property carried off to the extent of 1,14,000. The Oude bands did not confine themselves to the frontier. In 1820, a party of four hundred, the pretended suite of a Hindu Raja, proceeding, as asserted, on a pilgrimage, and travelling deliberately with the usual accompaniments of a person of rank, elephants, horses, palankins, &c, traversed the British territory for more than 300 miles from the Oude frontier, and near Mongir plundered the boats of a merchant of Calcutta carrying bullion, to the extent of a lakh, and a half of rupees, of the despatch of which the leader had been apprised by his agents in Calcutta. The party retreated with their booty in safety. In the following year they were less fortunate. The same leader, with one hundred and forty-three men and forty women, was apprehended by the exertions of the magistrates in South Béhar. The men were practised gang-robbers. The chief was hanged; the most notorious were transported for life; the rest sentenced to hard labour for various periods. These people were chiefly of the tribe termed Shigal-khors, Jackall-eaters, from their lax habits in regard to food, and principally tenanted the thickets near Secrora, in Oude. Their parties were joined, however, by similar gangs who haunted the British side of the Ganges.—Jud. Proceedings, MS.

BOOK II. as implying an equality with the King of Delhi; but it
 CHAP. XI. was allowed to remain, upon its being limited by the
 1823. phrase Padshah-i-Awadh, instead of Padshah, King, only,
 as proposed by his Majesty himself. He had prepared
 the way for this elevation a year before, by striking coin
 in his own name, instead of that of the King of Delhi—
 an invasion of the privileges of the Mogul which had not
 yet been committed even by the East India Company.
 This elevation was received with extreme indignation at
 Delhi, and was by no means acceptable to the Moham-
 medans, who saw in it an ungracious encroachment upon
 the rights of the representative of Timur by one who was
 bound by his office in an especial manner, as well as by
 the ties of gratitude, to protect them. The assumption
 of the royal title by the Vizir originated in the suggestion
 of the Governor-General, who had witnessed an act of
 humiliation imposed upon him by his nominal subordina-
 tion to the throne of Delhi, and regarded it as incon-
 sistent with his actual dignity and power. Two brothers
 of the King of Delhi resided at Lucknow, supported by
 allowances granted partly by the Company, partly by the
 Vizir. Notwithstanding their partial dependence upon
 the latter, etiquette assigned to them so decided a pre-
 cedence, that when the Nawab encountered them in the
 street, the elephant on which he rode was made to kneel
 in token of homage as they passed. The Nawab was
 told that it rested with himself to throw off all such
 forms of servility to the Mogul; and upon his intimating
 a wish to adopt an equal title, his purpose was encour-
 aged, provided it made no difference in the relations
 which connected him with the British Government. It
 was, in the opinion of the Marquis of Hastings, a pro-
 vident policy to sow dissension in this manner between
 the rival sovereigns of Delhi and Lucknow, in order to
 prevent the cooperation of the latter, through the bond
 of his allegiance to the former, in any hostile combination
 against the British interests, of which the King of Delhi
 should be the real or nominal head.¹ It may be doubted,
 should such a remote contingency arise, whether identity
 of religion and community of interest will not outweigh

¹ Summary by the Marquis of Hastings of the operations in India, and their results. Printed for the Proprietors, June, 1824.

all other considerations, and whether the King of Oude will not be as willing as the Nawab Vizir to place his resources at the foot of the imperial throne. On the other hand, a material difference has been made in the political relations between the head of the government of Oude and his allies. He now holds his dominions in independent sovereignty, — as Nawab, he exercised only a delegated sway, which the British government, as representing that of Delhi, had the right to resume at its own discretion. Names are sometimes as real as things, and the King of Oude is not for any purpose the same potentate as the Nawab Vizir.

BOOK II.

CHAP. XI.

1823.

CHAPTER XII.

Internal Administration of the Marquis of Hastings. — *Progressive Legislation.* — I. *Civil Judicature.* — *Inefficiency of the Courts.* — *Injunctions of the Home Authorities to revert to Native Institutions.* — *Measures adopted in Bengal — at Madras and Bombay.* — *Result.* — II. *Criminal Justice and Police.* — *Reforms at the Presidencies.* — *Union of the Powers of Magistrate and Collector.* — *Extended Police Powers of the Revenue and Village Officers at Madras, and at Bombay.* — III. *Revenues.* — *Land Revenue.* — *Principles of Ryotwar Settlement to be universally adopted.* — *Perpetual Settlement prohibited.* — *Enactments in Bengal.* — *Village and District Native Accountants re-established.* — *Rules for Sale of Lands modified.* — *Settlement of Ceded and Conquered Provinces.* — *System of Village Settlement preferred.* — *Necessity of previous Inquiry.* — *Abuses to be remedied.* — *Fraudulent Transfers of Property extensive.* — *Discontent of the People.* — *Special Commission appointed.* — *Wrongs redressed.* — *Question of Perpetual Settlement of the Western Provinces re-considered.* — *Deferred Periodical Settlements continued.* — *Nature of Inquiries to be instituted.* — *As regarding the Land.* — *As regarding its Occupants.* — *Regulation to give effect to the Arrangements.* — *Revenue Surveys commenced.* — *Great Delay anticipated.* — *Still greater experienced.* — *Merit of the Government.* — *Ma-*

dras Village Settlements closed.—Ryotwar resumed.—With Modifications.—Lands for Sale in the permanently settled Districts bought on Public Account.—Bombay Revenue Arrangements.—Based on Native Institutions.—Inquiry found necessary.—Revenue Commission.—Revenue Survey of Broach.—Its Objects.—Similar Surveys in Guzerat.—Village Accountants made Public Servants.—Opposition of Heads of Villages.—Objections to the Arrangement.—Gradually relinquished.—Settlements of the Dekhin.—Combination of Village and Ryotwar Systems.—Survey commenced.—Other Branches of Revenue.—Opium.—Difficulties respecting Malwa Opium.—Measures adopted.—Salt.—Customs.—Duties on British Goods remitted.—Finance.—Augmentation of Revenues.—Of Charges.—Surplus of Local Receipts.—Home Charges and Commercial Advantages insufficiently provided for.—Loans raised.—Public Debt increased.—Separation of Territorial and Commercial Accounts.—Debt contracted to the East India Company's Commerce.—Sufficiency of Indian Revenues for Disbursements in Time of Peace.—Prospect of Financial Prosperity.—Changes of Social Condition.—Calcutta an Episcopal See.—Bishop Middleton.—Difficulties of his Position.—His Proceedings.—Foundation of Bishop's College.—His Death.—Establishment of Scottish Church.—Activity of Missionary Societies.—Increased Numbers of Missionaries.—Attention turned to Native Education.—Defects of Native System.—Schools established.—Partly by Missionary Bodies.—Partly by Individuals for General Education; the latter assisted by the Government.—Censorship of the Press abolished.—Immediate Results.—Close of the Administration of the Marquis of Hastings.

BOOK II.
CHAP. XII.

1814-23.

THE many and important political events which signalised the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, were not permitted to divert the attention of the Indian Governments from the progressive duties of domestic regulation, and the amelioration of the condition of the people subject to their sway. The investigations which had preceded the last renewal of the Company's Charter, had exposed defects in the established Judicial and Revenue systems, of which the existence had been little sus-

pected, and for which it was obviously imperative to provide early and adequate remedies. It was, however, as usual, more easy to discover imperfections, than to devise unexceptionable methods of correcting them; and the measures which were proposed for that purpose, partook of the faults in which much that was defective had originated,—a more accurate conception of the ends than of the means, impatience to construct a complete system of law and justice, without waiting for its spontaneous growth and gradual development, and the want of due consideration not only for the past, but for the present condition of society, for the anomalous amalgamation of its indigenous and exotic, its Indian and European, elements. Although, therefore, very great pains were taken to reform practices which were evidently amiss, and to substitute principles of a different tenor from those which had hitherto been received as unimpeachable; and although upon the whole an important advance was made in the business of progressive legislation, yet the system continued to be only progressive, and was far from reaching that maturity which the authorities, both at home and in India, earnestly desired to see it attain.

BOOK II.
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The continual accumulation of arrears in the decisions of the Courts of Civil Judicature, and the prolonged periods to which complainants had to look for redress, amounting to a virtual withholding of justice, were, as we have had occasion to notice, the prominent defects of that branch of the judicial system;¹ nor did the injury arising from the delay affect only those cases which were brought before the courts, as a still greater number of suits were kept back by the uncertainty whether they would ever be adjudicated; and persons aggrieved preferred submission to present wrong to the tedious process and remote chance

¹ Between 1810 and 1815, the whole number of depending suits considerably decreased; those at the end of the former year being 135,553; and of the latter 103,236. There was an increase, however, in the Superior Courts, the arrears being respectively of the Sudder Adawlat 193 and 467, and of the Provincial Courts 2903 and 3705. In the Judges' Courts there was a decrease, the depending suits being severally 20,341 and 16,898. Taking the numbers of the latter period, the term required for clearing off the causes in arrear, according to the average duration of the proceedings of the Courts, was in the Sudder twelve years; in the Provincial Courts six years; and in those of the Zilla and City Judges five and a half. Tables showing the extent and operations of the Judicial systems of the three Presidencies.—Commons Report, 1832. App. Judicial. Table xvi. p.504.

BOOK : II. that in the districts where the permanent settlement had
 CHAP. : XII. been formed, the village institutions had been destroyed,
 1814-23. and that the persons occupying the stations of the ancient
 head-men, were usually the Gomashtas, or agents of the
 Zemindar, whom it was obviously inexpedient to arm with
 powers, which they would infallibly employ for the benefit
 of their principals and the further oppression of the
 Ryots. In the provinces, where the settlement had not
 been concluded, too little was known of the state of the
 prevailing institutions to render it advisable to recognise
 any set of individuals as public functionaries by virtue of
 their connection with the communities of which they were
 members.' The Bengal government, therefore, until the
 exact nature of that connection should be accurately
 understood, suspended compliance with the orders from
 home, and hesitated to intrust the supposed heads of
 villages with public duties, or to recognise village Pan-
 chayats in any other capacity than that in which they
 had always been acknowledged,—local juries of arbitra-
 tion, spontaneously formed at the wish and by the consent
 of the litigant parties. At the same time, the necessity
 of augmenting native agency was unreservedly admitted,
 as well as of simplifying the processes of the Courts, and
 modifying their constitution, and various regulations for
 these purposes were enacted.

The limit of value to which the decisions of Sudder-
 Amins were restricted (fifty rupees) was extended, first to
 one hundred and fifty, and subsequently to five hundred ;
 while that of the sums adjudicable by Munsifs was raised
 from fifty, first to sixty-four, and secondly to one hundred
 and fifty. The pay of both was improved, and that of the
 Amins was fixed independently of fees ; and the judges
 of the District Courts were authorised to add to the
 number of the subordinate grade of native officers as
 circumstances might require.¹ Additional powers were
 also conferred upon the junior European officers, or regis-

¹ Letters from the Judges of the Court of Sudder Adawlat of the 4th De-
 cember, 1816, and 9th March, 1818, with the replies of the Provincial and
 City Judges from various parts of the country, to the Directors of the Court,
 in answer to the injunctions of the Court of 1814.—Judicial Papers, Calcutta,
 printed. On the information thus accumulated is based the Letter from the
 Bengal Government of the 22nd February, 1827, cited above.

² Bengal Regulations XXIII. of 1814, and II. III. of 1821, and XIII. of
 1824.

trars. Suits below or above five thousand rupees, had been restricted severally to the courts of the district and the provincial courts, were allowed to be carried either at the will of the parties; and the number of judges was raised from three to four, in each of the provincial courts.¹ The collectors of the revenue were also empowered to hear and determine summary suits for the rent and occupancy of land;—disputes forming a great proportion of the business of civil judicature. These enactments necessarily alleviated the labours of the judges;² but they were far from accomplishing the object of their promulgation; and further arrangements were soon found to be indispensable.³

Instructions of the purport of those addressed to Bengal, had been previously communicated to the Government of Madras,⁴ and their execution was insured by the appointment of a commission, of which Colonel Munro, who was

BOOK II.
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¹ Bengal Regulations XXIV. XXV. 1814 and XIX. of 1817.

² Bengal Regulation VII. of 1822.

³ The Regulations of 1814, as far as affected the Munsifs, seemed to have diminished the causes brought before them. In 1814, the number was 125,491; in 1816, but 52,550; they then increased, and in 1820, were 104,000. On the other hand, the suits instituted before the Sudder Amins, steadily increased from 23,000 in 1814 to 46,000 in 1820. In 1814, Munsifs were allowed to try causes only which had originated within a twelvemonth from their institution. In 1817, Regulation XIX extended the period to three years. The Court attributed the falling off to this limitation, but in the beginning of 1814, Stamps in Judicial Proceedings were substituted for fees on the institution of suits, and the amount due to the Munsifs in place of the fee was paid by the Zilla Judge. This innovation had probably some effect in reducing the number of suits brought before the subordinate Native Judges. Selections from Judicial Records, printed by order of the Court of Directors, vol. iv. p. 33. The arrears of Civil Causes rapidly declined. In 1813, they amounted to 142,000; in 1817 to 92,000, showing a diminution in four years of 50,000 suits. The Sudder estimates the average annual decisions at 150,000. — Letter from the Judges of the Sudder, March 1818. — Judicial Papers, Calcutta, printed.

⁴ In reply to a letter from Bengal in 1823, requiring considerable additions to the European establishment, the Court observes, "the Regulations passed by you in 1821 have our cordial approbation, and we were greatly pleased with the valuable memorandum which was then submitted to you by your Chief Secretary, Mr. Bayley, explanatory of the policy which had influenced the framing of those Regulations." "But though under the provisions there made, the powers of the Munsifs and Sudder Amins were increased, and their number may be increased indefinitely, we apprehend, from the large arrears of undecided causes, the number and powers of those functionaries are still inadequate. We are satisfied that to secure a prompt administration of justice to the natives of India, in civil cases, native functionaries must be multiplied so as to enable them to take cognizance, in the first instance of all suits of that description, and, as appears to us, without regard to the amount at stake, the decisions being of course liable to revision under appeal." — Judicial Letter to Bengal, 23rd July, 1824. Selections from the Records, iv. 29. It is but just to the Home Authorities to give them credit for originating principles scarcely yet fully carried into practice.

⁵ Judicial Letter to Madras, 29th of April, 1814. — Selections from the Records II. 236.

BOOK II. the time on the eve of returning from England to Ma-
 CHAP. XII. he, was the head.¹ Although the native village func-
 1817¹⁻²³ anaries existed in a much less mutilated state in the
 territories subject to the Madras Presidency, than in
 those of Bengal; yet the principal judicial and revenue
 officers at the former were, for the most part, opposed to
 the plan of employing them extensively in the adminis-
 tration of civil justice. As the Patels, or head-men of
 the villages, and the village Panchayats were not to receive
 any remuneration for the performance of the duties to be
 assigned to them, it was anticipated that they would
 either decline the obligation, or fulfil it with reluctance
 and indifference, and that little effective aid would be
 received from their unwilling exertions: connected also
 as they must be with the parties concerned in the cases
 before them, it was scarcely to be expected that they
 would perform their duties free from bias or partiality;
 and as it was part of the plan, that their sentences should
 not be subject to appeal, there was no security against
 their committing gross injustice. As also they were
 necessarily ignorant of the laws and regulations, their
 judgments could not be governed by any determinate
 principles, and their decisions could not fail to be capri-
 cious and contradictory.² The arguments of the Com-
 missioners, backed by the positive injunctions of the
 Home Authorities, silenced all opposition; and a series
 of Regulations was enacted and promulgated in the course
 of 1816, based upon the principles which the orders from
 home had laid down.³ By the first of these it was pro-
 vided, that the Heads of villages should be Munsifs in
 their respective villages; and that they should have
 authority to hear and determine, without appeal, all suits
 preferred before them for personal property, not exceeding
 in value ten Arcot rupees, unless the parties entered into
 a bond to abide by the Patel's decision, when the limit
 might be extended to one hundred rupees. Registers of
 the suits, decided were to be kept by the village accountant;
 and periodical reports of cases adjudicated and pending
 were to be regularly transmitted to the native judicial

¹ Judicial Letter to Madras, 4th of May, 1814.—Selections II. 257.

² Minute of Mr. Fullerton, 1st January, 1816.—Selections II. 353.

Madras Regulations, IV. V. VI. VII. VIII. IX. 1816.

officer next in rank, or the District Munsif. The Village Munsifs were authorised, by the next regulation, to assemble Panchayats, or from five to eleven of the most respectable inhabitants of the village community to hear and try, with the consent of the parties themselves, suits for personal property, to an unlimited amount. Provisions were made for regulating the constitution of the Panchayats and their mode of proceeding. Their decisions admitted of no appeal, unless a charge against them of partiality and corruption could be substantiated. Reports of their proceedings were to be transmitted to the District Munsifs, whose appointment formed the subject of another regulation. These officers were substituted for the native Commissioners formerly employed; but their number was augmented, and powers enlarged. They were authorized to decide causes for real as well as personal property, to the extent of two hundred rupees; and within certain limits their decrees were final. They were also empowered to assemble District Panchayats, whose proceedings and constitution were analogous to those of the village Panchayats. Another measure, having the same object in contemplation, was the extension of the powers of Sudder Amins, the Law Officers of the District and Provincial Courts, to the trial of suits for real and personal property, not exceeding the value of three hundred rupees. When it is recollected that, by far the largest proportion of the causes brought before the courts, are for values of a limited amount, it will be seen that the principal share in the administration of civil justice was thus transferred to native functionaries. Still further to expedite the despatch of civil justice, alterations were made in the laws affecting the processes of the Courts, and the course of pleading; and limitations were affixed to the privilege of appeal.¹ At a shortly subsequent date, the jurisdiction of the Sudder Amins and District Munsifs was severally extended to suits for the value of seven hundred and fifty and five hundred rupees,² and the Collector was instructed to hear and decide disputes relating to the rents and possession of land, which had previously been cognizable by the civil judge alone.³

BOOK II.
CHAP. XII.

1814-23

¹ Madras Regulations, XIV. XV. 1816.
² Ibid. V. 1822.

³ Ibid. II. 1821.

BOOK II. The effects of the various regulations thus promulgated, very soon operated to lighten the duties of the judges, and to facilitate the determination of civil suits. Some of their results were, however, unexpected, and afforded an unanswerable proof that the sentiments of the natives of India are as liable as those of other nations to vary with change of time and circumstances. The benefits so confidently anticipated from the public recognition of the Panchayat were not realised: the supposed boon granted to the people was rejected: they would make little use of an institution interwoven, it had been imagined, inseparably with their habits and affections. The Panchayats, it appeared, had been highly prized, only as long as nothing better was to be had. In the absence of all other tribunals the people were constrained to establish one for themselves, and willingly admitted its adjudication of disputes which there was no other authority to settle; while, on the other hand, the most respectable members of the community, especially interested in maintaining property and peace inviolate, and being subject to no authoritative interference or protection, willingly discharged, without any other consideration than the influence which they derived from their discharge of such functions, the duties of arbitrators and judges. But a court, the members of which acknowledged no responsibility, and performed their functions only for such a term, or at such times, as suited their own convenience; who were guided by no light except their own good sense; who, even if uncorrupt, could scarcely be impartial; who had no power to carry their own decrees into effect; and whose sentences were liable to no revision: such a court must have been a very inadequate substitute for any tribunal, the proceedings of which were regulated by fixed rules, and which was presided over by a qualified officer, removed from personal influence, and subject to vigilant supervision. Whatever defects might still adhere to the administration of justice through individual judges, native or European, appointed by the Government, their courts continued to be crowded, while the Panchayats were deserted, their unpopularity being partly ascribable to their inherent imperfections, and partly to the indifference or dislike of the persons of whom they were ordinarily composed, who, from the

moment that the Government attempted to regulate their proceedings, found themselves deprived of independence, and subjected to a gratuitous and irksome responsibility. The same causes brought the village Munsifs into disrepute: they were made amenable for partiality or corruption to superior authorities: and they reaped neither profit nor consideration from their unrequited labour. It was not to be expected that, under these circumstances, the Patels would become active and zealous magistrates, or that they would fail to take every safe occasion of remunerating themselves. They were mostly also ignorant and illiterate men, unable to read or write, and little qualified by superiority of knowledge or talent, to command respect for their decisions. Recourse was consequently rarely had to their judgments; and the chief increase of labour fell upon the Sudder Amins and district Munsifs, officers appointed by the State for the distribution of justice among the people, and owing all their influence and authority to their public and functional character.¹

The circumscribed extent of the territories, subject to the Presidency of Bombay, anteriorly to the Mahratta cessions and conquests, had required the services of a comparatively limited establishment which was modelled upon those of the other Presidencies, with the exception that the court of final appeal continued, until 1820, to con-

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1814-28.

¹ In 1817, the year following the enactment of the New Regulations, the number of civil suits decided rose from 46,909 to 71,051, of which 66,302 were adjudicated by Native Courts; of this great number no more than 112 were decided by district Panchayats, and 230 by village Panchayats. In 1818, the number of cases decided by these courts were respectively but 75 and 197, and in 1819, 33 and 99. On the 1st January, 1820, the suits on the files of the Native Courts were 21,059, of which no more than 35 were before the district Panchayats, and only 9 before those of the villages. The village Head-men as Munsifs, had cognizance of but 299, and the rest, exceeding 20,000, were all before the district Munsifs. "who to all intents and purposes were servants of the Government, stipendiary Native Judges, a new description of person, unknown under the Native Government, not the native gentry of the country, nor having by their appointment any connection with the gratuitous labour formerly required by ancient municipal arrangements."—Minute of Mr. Fullerton, 7th June, 1820.—Selections iv. 46. See also Report of Sudder Adawlat, 21st September, 1818. Selections, II. 610. The manner in which the work was done by the Munsifs was satisfactory. From 1816 to 1820, their decisions amounted to 183,530, the appeals from them to 3,057, or about 1½ per cent.—Ibid. iv. 67. The Commissioners were obliged to admit the partial failure of this part of their scheme, "several causes have contributed to retard the progress of the system under the village Munsifs; the forms and length of the Regulation, the pains and penalties, and prosecutions which it announces, their fears of the European Courts, and their consequent reluctance to engage in anything likely in the most remote degree to bring them before those tribunals."—Report of Commissioners, October, 1818. Ibid. II. 629.

The state of criminal justice and of the police had been pronounced by the investigations of the Parliamentary Committee of 1812 to be as unsatisfactory as that of the civil branch, and still more imperatively to demand reform. Instructions to that effect were accordingly addressed at the same time, to the Indian Governments, promulgated by the same authority which had especially biassed the opinions of the Board of Control, and founded upon the experience of Colonel Munro. The ruling principle of the proposed reform was an entire departure from that which had influenced Lord Cornwallis in his reformation of the existing system, and re-united what he had so carefully kept apart, the powers of the magistrate with those of the Collector, and the charge of the police with the collection of the revenue. Arguing, that the duties of the Criminal Judge prevented the same officer from duly attending to civil justice; that those of a judge were incompatible with the more active functions of a magistrate; that the establishment of Darogas and Thanas, while it was unfamiliar and obnoxious to the natives, was ineffective; and that the Collector in person, or through his revenue officers, was brought more than any other functionary into approximation with the people, the Home Authorities directed that the Thanadari system should be abolished; that the Collector should be vested with magisterial as well as fiscal powers, and the same should be exercised under him by revenue officers, or Tehsildars, and the heads of villages: that where the Zemindari settlements prevailed, the Zemindars should be restored to a portion of their former authority over the police; and that measures should be adopted for the re-organization of the village watch on a footing of efficiency.

The same objections which had been urged in Bengal to the employment of the heads of villages in the duties of civil justice, were repeated at that Presidency, in respect to their forming part of the new police system — namely, the disappearance of heads of villages, properly so considered, and their replacement by the servants of

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whole popular, the parties would prefer the decision of a European; that the members dislike the duty, that their proceedings are very slow, that they are not free from corruption, and that the whole system requires revision. Selections iv. 246, 829.

BOOK II. the Zemindar, who would be likely to abuse such powers
 CHAP. XII. in his favour to the injury of the people. It was admitted
 ——— that no system of police could be effective without the
 1811-23. support and co-operation of the Zemindars; yet it was
 considered unadvisable to entrust them with an authority,
 the notorious misemployment of which had originally
 occasioned their being deprived of it; and it was evidently
 impracticable to combine the interference of the Zemindars
 in the police, with the existing arrangements of
 Thanas and Darogas. The association of magisterial and
 revenue functions was also strongly objected to, not only
 upon the principles already laid down, but upon the
 ground that the Collectors were already fully occupied,
 and would not be able to undertake the labours of the
 magistracy without neglecting their peculiar duties. It
 was also urged, that although the Collectors might not be
 guilty of any abuse of their magisterial powers, yet it
 might be reasonably doubted whether the Tehsildars, and
 other native officers acting under them, would not pervert
 the authority vested in them for public purposes, to the
 means of promoting a private end, or at least to the faci-
 litating of the collection of rents and revenues by other
 modes of coercion than those sanctioned by the Regula-
 tions. It was further asserted, that the proposed innova-
 tions were unnecessary, as the existing Thanadari system
 under the established magistrates was as effectual as any
 that had been devised, falling little short of the best
 organized systems in Europe, in regard to the detection
 of crime and the apprehension of criminals, when under
 the direction of an able and active magistrate. Its im-
 perfection as a preventive police was not so much imput-
 able to any inherent defect, as to the absence of public
 spirit in the influential members of native society, who
 generally, although not universally, resenting the diminu-
 tion of an authority of which they had shown themselves
 to be unworthy depositaries, were backward in fulfilling
 the obligations of their station, and rather afforded pro-
 tection to crime, than aided in its prevention or punish-
 ment. As long as this was the case, it was unfair to
 expect the full development of the efficiency of the police.
 The village watch, on the other hand, was an essential
 part of the existing system; and although its organiza-

BOOK II. tion. The same functionaries were empowered, without
 CHAP. XII. reference to the Nizamut, or Supreme Criminal Court, to
 1814-23. admit to bail offences not usually bailable, when the
 accused had been long in confinement, and where competent security was tendered.¹ The enactments for the police were consolidated into one comprehensive Regulation,² which had especially in view the objects of giving energy and activity to the officers of the police, while guarding against any abuse of their powers. They were prohibited from inflicting fine or punishment of any kind, from extorting confession by any mode of torture, and from detaining any person apprehended above forty-eight hours without forwarding him to the magistrate, with a full report of the charge against him. The village watchmen of every class were declared to be subject to the authority of the Thanadar; and Zemindars, their agents, heads of villages, and all persons entrusted with authority, judicial or revenue, were³ required to give immediate information of heinous offences, and of all loss of life, whether from accident or violence, within their knowledge, under penalty of fine and imprisonment. Although, as a general principle, the union of the magistracy with the collection of the revenues was resisted, yet it was allowed in special localities; and the Governor-General was empowered to employ a Collector as magistrate where he might think it advisable.⁴ The power which had been entrusted to the Collector of deciding summary suits for rent, and disputes regarding occupancy, was expected to relieve the Criminal Judge of a very laborious part of his duties, by the prevention of affrays arising out of contested boundaries, which were always of a sanguinary description, usually attended with loss of life, and which, from the great number of persons concerned, demanded tedious and laborious investigation.⁴ These enactments

¹ Bengal Regulations. VI. and VIII. of 1817.

² *Ibid.* X X. of 1817.

³ The Collectors at Ramgerh and the Jangal Mahals, and the Sub-collectors at Khurda, Balasore, and Pilibhit, and other officers at Moradabad, Etawa, Alighurh and Meerut, and in Bundelkhand, had been already made joint magistrates. The Commissioners at Delhi, Ajmir, in the Sagar and Nagpur territories, in Cuttack, Ramgerh and Rungpur, united Revenue and Judicial powers.—Letter from Bengal, February, 1827. Commons' Report.—Judicial Appendix, p. 109. The discretionary power of appointing Collectors to act as magistrates was provided by Regulation VII. 1822, ch. xx.

⁴ The Superintendent of Police in the Western provinces, reported that in last six months of 1811, many affrays had taken place in the Bennes district, in

afforded some additional facility and precision in the attainment of the ends proposed; but they involved no material departure from the system in force, and adhered, with but partial exceptions, to the principle of distinction between the judicial and revenue departments.

The orders addressed from England to the Government of Fort St. George, were of a more peremptory tenor.¹ It was declared, that any plan of criminal Judicature and Police, not based upon the ancient village system, was radically defective, and inadequate to the accomplishment of its intended purposes; and that experience had shown, that the feeble operation of a few Darogas and Peons, spread through a wide extent of country, and having no hold upon the respect or attachment of the people, was wholly insufficient for the preservation of social order and tranquillity. The immediate abolition of the Thanadari system was therefore enjoined; and it was directed, that the whole of the magisterial functions should be entrusted to the Collector, as well as the superintendence of the Police, his duties to be discharged through the agency of his subordinate European and native Collectors, the heads of villages, and the village watch. The circumstances of the Madras Presidency, and the greater completeness with which the village institutions in many parts of the country had survived political revolutions, were favourable to the introduction of the proposed arrangements; and it was further facilitated by the general impression that the Thanadari system was unsuited to the condition of the people, and was unable to check the progress of crime.²

which 5,700 persons were concerned, of whom thirty were killed on the spot, and sixty-nine wounded. At Zemania, opposite to Ghazipur, an affray took place notwithstanding the presence and prohibition of the Police, and the Zemindar, whose crop it was the object of one party to seize, was murdered, although he had taken refuge with the Police officers. The stronger party always found an advantage from his success, as owing to the delays of the Courts he was sure of remaining in possession for a prolonged period.—Letter to Bengal. Parl. Papers, July, 1819, p. 37.

¹ The Letter above referred to, 29th April, 1814.—Select Acts, II. 250.

² "The inexpediency of the system of Police under Darogas and Thanadars at Madras, appeared manifest at a very early period. A Committee was appointed in 1805, to consider a general system of Police, and their report contained an express recommendation to continue the ancient system under the head inhabitants, and to place the superintendence of the Police under the Collectors. The same sentiments in regard to the village establishments have been expressed by the Second Committee. The decision of the Supreme Government against the transfer of the Police to the Collector, precluded discussion of that measure by the Second Committee. The stipendiary F."

BOOK II. The leading authorities, therefore, acquiesced in the general expediency of entrusting the duties of the Police to the officers of the revenue, the Collector, the Tehsildars, and, under them, the heads of villages, and the village watchmen. Objections were stated to the combination of Magistrate and Collector,¹ but they were held to be invalid by the Special Commission; and the Government acting in conformity to their opinions, it was resolved that the Collector should be charged with all the duties of the magistrate, except the visitation of the jails and personal attendance at the circuits. Accordingly, regulations were enacted, constituting the Collectors of the several Zillas, magistrates also of their respective Zillas, and their assistants, assistants to the Magistrates, in which capacity they were empowered to apprehend persons charged with offences against person and property; to commit them for trial, when satisfied that there were grounds for their committal; and, in the case of minor offences, to hear and pronounce sentence, comprehending corporal punishment, imprisonment and fine, within prescribed limits. The judges of the Zilla were appointed criminal judges for the trial of the cases sent to them by the Magistrates, under certain limitations, beyond which they were referable to the Court of Circuit, at the usual periodical sessions. The appointment of Daroga was abolished, and the functions were transferred to the head-men of the villages, assisted by the Karnams, or village accountants, and the Taliaris, or other class of village watchmen, by Tehsildars, or native collectors, by Zemindars, Amins, and Kotwals. Their duties were principally the prevention of crime by seasonable interposition, or prompt information to superior authority, the apprehension of criminals, and their transmission to the proper officer within twenty-four hours of their arrest; and the adjudication of petty disputes and thefts, with power to impose a trivial fine, and to award a brief detention in the village choltri, or the stocks. The village guards were declared to be hereditary, and entitled to an assignment from the Government of land,

Peons have, indeed, shown themselves incapable of acting but by the aid of the village police, and they have moreover proved a great annoyance to the inhabitants."—Mr. Fullerton's Minute, 1st January, 1816.—Selections II. 306.

¹ Report of Board of Revenue, Madras, 18th December, 1816.—Selection II. 403.—Mr. Fullerton's Minute. Ibid. 369.

grain, or money, as might be convenient. In default of BOOK II.
 heirs, they were appointed by the Collector. Tehildars PART XII.
 were, *ex officio*, heads of Police in their respective districts,

 1414-15.
 and, in addition to the subsidiary duties of investigation
 and committal, were authorised to hear and determine,
 and inflict punishment according to definite limitations.
 The Magistrate was permitted to appoint, at his discre-
 tion, any Zemindar who should be desirous of the office,
 head of the Police within his own Zemindari; Amils of
 Police were also nominated for towns. Abuse of authority
 by any of these persons, was punishable by fine and im-
 prisonment.¹ The powers of the subordinate function-
 aries² were subsequently extended, and various regula-
 tions were passed to facilitate and expedite the decisions
 of the criminal courts.³ As Colonel Munro, the main
 author of these innovations, was appointed Governor of
 Madras in 1820, he was enabled to superintend the full
 development of a system virtually abrogating that which
 had, a few years earlier, been pressed upon the Govern-
 ment of Fort St. George by the Government of Bengal, as
 affording the only solid basis on which the advance of the
 people in happiness and prosperity, the permanent preser-
 vation of private security and public tranquillity, could be
 established.⁴

BOOK II. and the agents of the police, and officers of criminal justice were the same as those to whom the collection of the revenue had been intrusted.¹ The principle was carefully preserved, but the practice was modified by provisions calculated to limit the powers and control the proceedings of the native officers; and by the ample discretion necessarily vested in the European Collectors of the districts into which the new territory was distributed. Offences of a heinous nature were reserved for the decision of the Collectors; and in cases of capital punishment for the confirmation of the Commissioner.

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The views entertained by the authorities, emanating chiefly from the Board of Control, adverse to the principle of the permanent settlement of the revenue, have been already adverted to.² The soundness of the principle was not professedly contravened, but the seasonableness of the practice was denied until a patient and laborious scrutiny of individual rights, a careful investigation of local peculiarities, and a minute and detailed survey of the extent, cultivation, and productiveness of the territory should have been instituted. An annual settlement with the actual cultivators on the Ryotwari system, was also considered to be more consistent with individual rights, as well as more profitable to the public revenue; and the introduction of such an arrangement was strenuously enjoined upon the Government of Bengal, in all cases where it might be practicable.³

The local Governments of Bengal and Madras, on the other hand, as tenaciously adhered to the principle of permanency, and maintained that the interests of the Government and the expectations of the people, justified by previous promises and regulations, required that a settlement in perpetuity should be made, either immediately or after a brief interval. They were, however, positively prohibited from carrying the measure into effect, without the previous sanction of the Court; and in obedience to these orders the arrangement was indefinitely deferred.

In B  ngal, the existing settlement of the lower provinces

¹ Bombay Regulations I. II. of 1818.

² Vol. VII. p. 452.

³ Revenue Letters from the Court of Directors, 1st February, 1811. Selections i. ii. 15th January, 1812. Ibid i. 61. 29th January, 1813. Ibid. p. 75.

precluded the consideration of the question of perpetuity, BOOK II
and the measures of the Government were restricted to CHAR. VII.
the enactment of regulations intended to correct previous
errors, or to provide for circumstances which had arisen, 1811-23.
out of the altered conditions of the agricultural interests.
In order to preserve a record of the changes constantly
taking place in the distribution of the soil, the office of
Kamungo in each Pargana, or district, was revived, whose
duty it was to keep registers of all transfers of landed
property, of the alteration of boundaries, of the prices of
produce and rates of rent, and of a variety of subjects
regarding the statistics of the cultivation and occupancy
of the country; furnishing the particulars periodically to
the Collector. To enable the Kamungo to collect and com-
pile this information, the injunction which originally made
it incumbent on the Zemindars to keep up the Patwaris,
or village accountants, who were to supply the Kamungo
with half-yearly detail, was reiterated. These latter offi-
cers had been maintained in various degrees of efficiency
for the service of the Zemindar;¹ but the Kamungo had
been abolished in the lower provinces, shortly after the
conclusion of the perpetual settlement; and in Bengal, his
services were missed as soon as inquiry was directed to
those particulars, on which alone equitable assessments
could be formed.² The institution had survived in the
western provinces, and was there found of service, but it
was not in the power of a mere enactment to reorganize a
machinery elsewhere, which had been suffered to fall into
utter decay, and the renovation of which demanded time,
opportunity, and diligent supervision.

Regulations were likewise promulgated for the levying
of revenue from lands which were held rent-free, and
which had not been so specified at the formation of the

¹ Regulations II. 1816, II. XIII. 1817, and I. 1818, and XII. 1817. Zemindars had been ordered to maintain Patwaris in every village by Reg. VIII. 1793, ch. 120.

² The office of Kamungo, which was universal under the Mogul Government, was abolished in 1807 by Lord Cornwallis, under a belief that all the particulars regarding the relative claims of Government and of individuals, had been recorded, and that the rights of landholders and cultivators of the soil, whether founded on ancient custom, or on regulations which had originated with the British Government, had been reduced to writing, a belief which was wholly erroneous. Memoirs by Mr. Secretary Mackenzie, Revenue Selections, III. p. 41. See Correspondence on the appointment of Kamungos—the same volume, I. 52.

BOOK II. perpetual settlement, or included in the recognised limits.
 CHAP. XII. of the extant Zemindaris; also for the assessment of
 1814-23. waste lands, not comprised within the same limits, and
 since brought under cultivation: a special regulation¹
 gave validity to a new species of tenure which had grown
 up under the prevailing system, derived from leases in
 perpetuity, granted by Zemindars, of portions of their
 estates, and of sub-leases again granted by the tenants,²
 defining also the nature of the property, and the mode of
 recovering arrears of rent. Enactments were likewise
 passed for the better regulation of sales of land for arrears
 of revenue, the objects of which were to render them more
 deliberate and public; to secure the validity of the trans-
 fer, and define the nature and extent of the rights trans-
 ferred; to protect all parties concerned from the conse-
 quences of error, irregularity, or fraud in the proceedings,
 and to enable the Board of Revenue to cancel a sale when
 it might seem to be a measure of excessive severity. This
 regulation, which applied to the Ceded and Conquered
 provinces, as well as to Bengal, contained one important
 clause which altered materially the relative positions of
 the actual cultivator and the Zemindar. Unto this date,
 all under-tenures were annihilated by the sale of the Ze-
 mindari, and the purchaser was empowered to make what
 new engagements he pleased, and to dispossess any class
 of occupants. It was now enacted, that tenants holding
 the land in hereditary and transferable property, or culti-
 vators having a hereditary and prescriptive right of occu-
 pancy, should not be dispossessed as long as they paid the
 rents previously settled, and that those rents should not
 be augmented, except under specified circumstances. This
 was a most essential advance in the protection of the
 rights of the peasantry, which, by the permanent settle-
 ment, had been left in Bengal entirely at the mercy of the
 Zemindar.³

The principal Revenue measures of the Government of
 Bengal, however, regarded the more recently acquired ter-

¹ Regulations XXIII. 1817, II. 1819.

² Regulation VIII. of 1819. The tenants in the first degree were known
 as Patnidars, leaseholders; in the second, Durpatni-dars, sub-leaseholders;
 in the third, Sch-patni-dars, or third leaseholders; the leases were at a fixed
 rent in perpetuity.

³ Regulations XVIII. 1814, and XI. 1822. See also Revenue Letters from
 Bengal, 20th of July, 1823. Com. Rep., 1832. Revenue App. p. 194.

ritories, and as no final assessment of the revenue of the Western provinces had yet been effected; the question that called for determination was the principle to be adopted in respect to those provinces. Permanency had been positively prohibited by the Court, and the practice of temporary assessments, which had hitherto prevailed, was therefore still to be pursued; but it remained to be considered, with whom the settlements were to be made, and upon what conditions.

The settlement of the Western provinces early engaged the attention of the Earl of Moira. Although disposed to acknowledge the desirableness of a permanent limitation of the Government demands, the new Governor-General had brought with him different notions from those which had hitherto predominated in the Supreme Council, and early expressed his conviction, that the measure must necessarily be preceded by the most thorough investigation; and on his journey to the upper provinces in 1814, he called upon the several Collectors to meet him, and bring with them full reports on the state of their respective districts. The information then received, although presenting a progressive improvement in the revenue, exhibited a marked inequality in the rate of assessment,¹ and led to the conclusion, that those who were most heavily assessed, could bear the burthen only because they were in possession of lands which had been withheld from all assessment whatever: it followed, therefore, that the statements upon which the calculations were founded were erroneous; that no dependence could be placed on the returns of the native revenue officers; and that the only safe criterion by which the Government claim could be accurately adjusted, was the actual measurement and survey of the ground, and a careful estimate of its average produce. The settlement of the revenue with the actual cultivators on the Ryotwari system, was declared to be

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¹ The total land revenue of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces amounted to more than two crores and eighty lakhs (2,800,000*l.*) which was collected at a charge of about 6 per cent., and with a balance of about 3 per cent., the whole levied upon 3,67,40,598, recorded Bighas of cultivated land. In Shah-jehanpur and Bareilly, the rate per Bigha was seven and eight anas; in Moradabad, one rupee, twelve anas; between three and four times the rate of the preceding, although like them situated in the same province, Rohilkhand, and distinguished by no material difference in the fertility of the soil. Revenue Minute of the Governor-General, 21st Sept., 1815. Commons Report, 1832. Revenue App. p. 91.

BOOK II. inapplicable to Upper India, as involving a minuteness of
 CHAP. XII. inspection which was impracticable with the present
 ——— European establishment, and which would necessitate the
 1814-23. employment of an infinite number of native agents who, from the impossibility of an efficient control, would be likely to inflict unbounded extortion and oppression. It became necessary, therefore, to form engagements with middle-men of some class or other; and the Board of Commissioners appointed to the Upper Provinces sought to introduce the system of village settlements; contracting engagements with one or more of the members of the actual cultivating body, as the representative of each village community for the whole of the Government demand, and leaving the adjustment of the share of each individual cultivator to be settled among themselves, with an appeal to the arbitration of the civil courts. The principle of this arrangement generally was conformable to the existing institutions, and was satisfactory to the people.

Before, however, the settlement of the ceded and conquered provinces upon the principle proposed could be attempted, it became necessary to remedy the abuses which had followed upon the settlements previously made, by which a vast number of the cultivators and proprietors of the soil had been violently or fraudulently deprived of their hereditary possessions. During the first seven or eight years after the acquisition of the new territories, the native officers of Government, their relations, connections, and dependants, taking advantage of the novelty of the British rule, of the weakness and ignorance of the people, and, in some cases, of the culpable supineness and misconduct of the European functionaries, contrived to acquire very extensive estates by the injury and ruin of the legal possessors. This wrong was perpetrated chiefly through collusive and fraudulent sales for arrears of revenue; either, where no arrears were due,¹ or where they

¹ "I have known a case wherein the defendant has not only had his estate sold for alleged arrears of revenue, but been prosecuted separately for further balance, and when by his own acts, acknowledgments, and pleadings, he must have been cast; yet when all his own and his pleader's ingenuity has failed, it has been found that the full revenue and more was collected, and the estate purchased by a portion of that which had been withheld."—Letter from Mr. Fortescue, Judge and Magistrate of Allahabad. Com. Rep. 1832. Revenue App. p. 229.

were purposely incurred by individuals who had been admitted to contract for the public revenue without having any claim or title to the lands, and who created a title either for themselves, or the Government officers in league with them, by the fact of a public sale. Private sales were also effected by the same pretended proprietors of estates, in which they had no fixed property, in favour of the officers of Government, their relations, or dependants. The persons thus injured—the village Zemindars—were for the most part ignorant and poor, and unacquainted with the forms of the British Courts or the principles of the Regulations, while those who defrauded them of their patrimony were generally men of wealth and rank, familiar with the British system, and enjoying considerable influence with the European functionaries.¹ Redress through the instrumentality of the judicial establishments was scarcely possible, and general discontent, often manifesting itself in affrays and bloodshed, pervaded the population of the Western provinces.²

Satisfied of the correctness of these statements, the Government resolved to adopt measures for securing redress to those whose rights had been invaded, by means more immediately accessible than the ordinary course of justice; and a Regulation was enacted appointing a Mofussil, or Provincial Commission, for the following purposes:—Investigation of disputed claims on account of public or private transfers of land prior to 1810, within such limits as the Government should direct; annulling sales effected by fraudulent influence, or by mal-administration, and restoring the estates to their rightful owners; upholding all genuine and valid sales, and making adequate compensation in the case of those cancelled, where the purchasers were not implicated in, or privy to, any dis-

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¹ In the Allahabad district, the principal purchasers were the Raja of Benares, a wealthy banker from the same place, and a former Amil, or Government manager, of Kota; these three, in the first few years after the cession, acquired by chicanery and collusion, estates yielding an annual revenue of 5,87,000 rupees (or 53,700*l.*), being one-fifth of the revenue of the whole district.—Memorandum by Mr. Secretary Mackenzie. *Ibid.* 232. So Mr. Fortescue also writes. "Immediately after the cession in 1801, two very distinguished characters made their appearance from the contiguous province of Benares, in this district."—Comm. Report, 1832. Revenue App. p. 224.

² Preamble to Regulation I. 1821, which enters fully into the nature of the frauds committed.—See also Minute of Mr. J. Stuart. *Ibid.* Revenue App. 224.

BOOK II. honesty or deception. In communication with the
 CHAP. XII. Mofussil Commission, a Sudder Commission was estab-
 1814-23. lished at Calcutta, to receive the reports of the Provincial
 Commissioners, to confirm or annul their decisions, and
 to receive appeals from their judgments.¹ The appoint-
 ment of the Special Mofussil Commission was vehemently
 opposed by the Judges of the Sudder, on the ground of its
 supercession of the regular Courts, which were open to
 all injured parties, and of its liability to add a new set of
 wrongs to those complained of, by dispossessing many
 persons of rights originally acquired by fair and honest
 purchase, and undisturbed through a prolonged interval.
 The resolution of the Government was, however, persisted
 in, and the two Commissions continued to prosecute their
 investigation through a number of years, in which a great
 amount of hardship and injury was redressed, and a
 favourable impression was made upon the minds of the
 people;—a considerable mass of information was also
 accumulated, regarding the tenures by which the lands in
 the Upper Provinces were held, an earlier acquaintance
 with which would have prevented the occurrence of that
 mischief which it was the work of many years entirely to
 repair.²

As the temporary arrangements made with the occu-
 pants of the land in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces
 were to expire in 1822, it became necessary to reconsider
 the question of a final assessment, and its being settled
 for perpetuity was again brought under discussion, not-
 withstanding the opposition of the Home Authorities. A
 permanent settlement was strongly recommended by the
 Board of Commissioners, not only upon the advantages of
 the measure in a fiscal point of view, but because they
 considered that the faith of the Government had been
 distinctly pledged to its adoption, and that the mass of
 the population had long and anxiously expected it: it
 could no longer, therefore, in their opinion, be withheld
 without the greatest injury to the interests of the British

¹ Regulations I. 1821, and I. 1823, IV. 1826.

² Notes on the Proceedings of the Government of Bengal respecting the
 enactment of Regulation I. 1821, bringing down the proceedings to 1826;
 and Revenue Letter to Bengal, January, 1829.—Comm. Report, 1832. Revenue
 App. p. 269. The Mofussil Commission was abolished upon the appointment of
 Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit, to whom its duties were transferred.

Government in that quarter.¹ The same sentiments were expressed by the members of the Government;² and the result of their deliberations was the communication of their unanimous opinion, that the system of a permanent settlement of the land revenue, either upon the principle of a fixed total payment, or of an assignment determinable by a fixed and invariable rate, ought to be extended to the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, as soon as it should be practicable fully to ascertain and record the value and capabilities of the land, and the rights and privileges of the various classes having an interest in the land. They were almost unanimous, however, in concluding that the extension of a permanent settlement to the provinces in question, without a minute investigation of the nature specified, would involve the risk of a considerable sacrifice of revenue, and the still more serious evil of placing in jeopardy the rights and property of a large body of the population.³ These sentiments called for a reiteration of the injunctions of the Court to abstain, not only from making any permanent settlement, but from taking any measures which might raise the expectation that a settlement in perpetuity would hereafter be formed.⁴ The Home Authorities now apparently abandoned the principle altogether—a relinquishment immaterial, as has been argued, to the interests, and indifferent to the people, as long as an enhancement of the calls upon them is not vexatiously repeated, and they entertain a firm trust in the durability, if not in the perpetuity, of moderate assessments.

¹ Report of Board of Commissioners for the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, 27th October, 1818.—Selections iii. 143.

² See Minutes of Mr. Dowdeswell, Sir Edward Colebrooke, Mr. Stuart, and Mr. Adam. Sir E. Colebrooke maintained that the condition attached to Regulation IX. 1805, had been fulfilled, that the Western Provinces had attained in all lands liable to assessment the maximum of cultivation, and that the revenue was more likely to decline than to improve. He also in a second minute asserted, that it was unnecessary to await the verification of tenures, as it would be sufficient to close permanently with the several villages, and to leave disputed claims to be adjudicated by the Courts. The expedience of immediate settlement for perpetuity was, however, questioned by his colleagues, who confined themselves to the view thus expressed by Mr. Adam. "It is agreed on all hands, in this country at least, and will not, I apprehend, be denied by the Honourable Court, that the Government is pledged to impose sooner or later, a limitation to the public demand from the land in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces."—Minutes of the Members of Government, 1819-20. Selections as above.

³ Revenue Letter from Bengal, 16th September, 1820.—Selections iii. 141.

⁴ Revenue Letter to Bengal. Selections iii. 213.

HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

BOOK II. Leaving this point for future consideration, the Govern-
 CHAP. XII. ment of Bengal determined to adopt active means for
 1814-23. procuring the requisite materials for the formation of a
 definite settlement for a protracted period, and pending
 the duration of the periodical settlements for shorter
 terms, the revenue officers in the western provinces were
 ordered to institute minute inquiries, village by village,
 into the extent and produce of the lands, the manner in
 which the produce was collected and realised, the mode
 in which it was distributed, and the rights, privileges,
 perquisites, and tenures, of all parties deriving support
 or benefit from the soil; the inquiry resolving itself into
 two heads, as affecting the land itself, and the persons
 interested in the land.

No materials entitled to credit were in existence respecting the extent and productiveness of the lands in cultivation, or the proportion still uncultivated. Such statements as were on record depended chiefly upon the personal information of subordinate officers, always vague and inaccurate, and not unfrequently interested and untrue; or upon accounts and specifications imperfectly and irregularly kept, and not uncommonly garbled and falsified. The extent to which the rights of individuals had been overlooked or violated, has been already explained by the circumstances which gave origin to the enactment of a regulation for their redress; but equal dishonesty on the one part, and ignorance and carelessness on the other, had in like manner vitiated much of the information that had been collected with regard to the distribution of the lands, and the demands to which they were justly liable. Under these considerations, the revenue authorities were instructed to ascertain, by the best available means, the extent of every village within the district, the state of its cultivation, the proportion of uncultivated or waste land, the different qualities of the lands, their situation and relative degrees of productiveness, the various kinds of crops, the mode of estimating or realising their value, and the disposal of their out-turn, the charges of cultivation and the expenses incurred on account of the village community, with a variety of subordinate details, exhibiting in a clear and authentic manner, the agricultural resources of the country in relation to the amount of the public

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BOOK II. lands.¹ A great and wise measure was thus commenced: its execution was retarded by unforeseen embarrassments; by the inability of the revenue officers to perform the duties assigned to them, partly from want of leisure, partly from want of activity and knowledge; by the frequent interruptions of the surveys; and by the intricacy of the subject, involving a complicated texture of rights and tenures, which almost defied unravelling. The principle, however, was sound. There may have been errors in the execution, as there were unavoidable delays in the accomplishment of the object proposed; but the Government was entitled to credit for wise and benevolent intentions, and for having acted, however late, upon the principle that knowledge should precede legislation.²

The measures which had been adopted at Madras, as preliminary to the formation of a permanent settlement have been already adverted to, and it has been mentioned, that in those districts in which the Ryotwar settlement had been introduced, it had been abandoned in favour of village settlements for a period first of three, and then of ten years, at the close of which a permanent arrangement was to be established, based upon the experience of the preceding interval. The measure was absolutely condemned by the Authorities at home, and recurrence to the

¹ Regulation VII. of 1822. It is printed in the Selections iii. 369, as well as in the usual Collection of the Regulations.

² Mr. Shore, whose opinions are entitled to the utmost deference, both from his experience, and from the rectitude of his feelings in behalf of the people of India, severely condemns the measures described in the text as being impracticable, and as tending to introduce a system virtually Ryotwar. It was impossible, he argues, that a Collector, a young man and a foreigner, without any knowledge of the value of lands, or the peculiarities of Indian tenures, should be able to ascertain and determine the extent and produce of the lands of at least three thousand villages, the average number of a district, or the rights and claims of an average population of nearly a million of individuals holding property under the most varied and complicated tenures; and could the plan succeed, the result would be to get rid of the principal farmers, and transfer their profits to the Government; leaving no opening for the accumulation of capital, and its consequent application to the improvement of the land. Such he declares to have been the result of the Regulation VII. of 1822. In those districts where it had been enforced, society, he asserts, is becoming rapidly impoverished and disorganised; there is no one to take the lead, or direct the people in anything which may tend either to benefit them or the Government.—Notes on Indian affairs by the Honourable F. J. Shore, vol. i. Letter xviii. on the Revenue System. At the time at which those letters were written, 1832-3, some of the settlements for extended periods were actually perfected, and the value of the lands and tenures of individuals correctly ascertained. There is reason to think that Mr. Shore's pictures, however faithful in the main, are occasionally somewhat too highly coloured.

BOOK II a precipitate imitation of the enactments of 1793; and the
 CHAP. XII. previous knowledge of the discussions to which they gave
 1814-23. origin in regard to Bengal and Madras, prevented the
 subject of a permanent Zemindari settlement being prematurely proposed at Bombay.¹ The arrangements there in force were, from the beginning, based upon the practice that had prevailed under the native governments; and for many years the revenue was collected from the villages through the agency of the Patels, according to annual assessments made by the native revenue officers subordinate to the Collector.² In the course of time, however, it was suspected that the Government was defrauded of its due, and that individuals were deprived of their property and rights by the malpractices both of the heads of villages and the native Collectors; and that justice to the Ryots, as well as the security of the public revenue, required that a more accurate knowledge than had yet been obtained, should be possessed, of the actual condition of the agricultural classes, whether paying revenue to the State, or holding lands exempted from the public demand. A revenue Commission was accordingly early appointed to inquire into the existing tenures, and to form settlements in the territories first annexed, in consequence of cession or conquest from the Mahratta Princes, to the Bombay Presidency, lying principally in Guzerat, or on its borders.³ Among the recommendations of the Committee was the institution of a detailed and scientific survey of the district of Broach, by which its boundaries, extent and divisions, and the extent of every village in it, and of every field in every village, were determined by actual admeasurement;—a like account was taken of the lands cultivated or waste, and of those paying revenue to Government as well as of those which were rent-free. The qualities of the soil, the kind of its produce, the mode of apportioning and of valuing the latter, and of realising

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¹ Except on the Island of Salsette, where in 1801, the Government offered to the cultivators to convey to them an absolute proprietary right, on their agreeing to a fixed permanent rate of payment. Few of the occupants availed themselves of the offer.—See Bombay Reg. I. 1801, containing a review of the past revenue arrangements on this island.

² A Collector charged with the realisation of the revenue, which had been formerly collected under the Nalobs of Surat, was first appointed in 1800. His duties were defined by Regulation XIII. of 1802.

³ Comm. Com. 1832. Revenue App. 577.

the respective shares of the cultivator of the State, were also defined, and a census of the population was taken with a verification of their individual claims, rights, and obligations.¹

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The survey was commenced in 1811, and was finished in rather more than two years, when the obvious value of the information which it brought to light induced the Government to sanction its extension to the other divisions of the Collectorate, and eventually to the other three Collectorates in Guzerat, Surat, Kaira, and Ahmedabad.²

Another arrangement, having for its object the ascertainment of the resources of the districts, and the record of private as well as public rights, was an alteration in the character of the native village accountants, who were made the servants of the Government. They had hitherto been paid by the village communities, but their duties had been indefinitely fixed, and irregularly discharged, and in many places they had ceased to exist. Arrangements were made to complete their number, and define their duties, and they were placed under the immediate orders of the Collector, and were paid by him at a rated per centage on the amount of the collections. Unimportant as these changes might appear to be, they tended in reality to effect a complete revolution in the village system. The authority and influence of the Accountant supplanted those of the Patel, and of the district Collector, and brought each cultivating Ryot into immediate connection with the European Collector, constituting the characteristic feature of the Ryotwar system. Many of the Patels had the sagacity to foresee this result, and opposed the introduction of the innovation, but their opposition only accelerated the evil they sought to prevent, by compelling the European officer to dispense with their agency altogether, and conclude his assessments through his own assistants, with the individual cultivators.

¹ The Collectorate of Broach comprised six Perganas — Broach, Akhillesar, Hanskut, Jambusir, Ahmud, and Dehej; the first conquered from Sindia in 1803; the others ceded by the Peshwa; comprising about 1,320 square miles, a population of 224,000, and yielding a revenue of rupees 19,67,000. Letter from Bombay, 5th November, 1823. Com. Committee, 1832. App. Revenue, 778.

² Report of Lieut.-Colonel Monier Williams, on the Survey of the Broach Collectorate, *ibid.* 783.

BOOK II The establishment of tranquillity opened to the inhabitants of Malwa a prospect of participating in the profits of this trade, and the native merchants soon began to export opium, not only to various places on the continent, but to ports on the western coast for shipment to the eastward. The interests of the British Government were thus placed in collision with the equitable claims of its allies, and even with the industry of its own subjects; and it became necessary, for the preservation of its monopoly, to limit, and, if possible, suppress, the growing traffic. This, however, was no easy task. Prohibitory duties were imposed at all the Presidencies upon all opium not made within the boundaries of the Presidency of Bengal imported into any of their dependancies, having in view especially the territories intervening between Malwa and Bombay. It was admitted, however, that the measures affecting the produce of Central India were attended in their operation with the most serious hardships to the moneyed, agricultural and commercial classes, producing the ruin of many, and causing general dissatisfaction and distress, and that, at the same time, they were but partially successful, as, from the multitude of interests opposed to their execution, and the many and circuitous channels by which they might be evaded,¹ it was impracticable to prevent the augmentation of the illicit traffic. It was also evidently impossible to prevent the conveyance of the contraband article through the territories of the native princes; and it was scarcely to be expected that they would sacrifice without reluctance the industry of their people and their own emoluments to the commercial avarice of the British. They were, however, prevailed upon to make the required concession, and to prohibit the cultivation of the poppy and the sale and transit of opium through their states, upon receiving a pecuniary compensation for the loss of profits and duties derivable from the cultivation or the transit. The injury done to the merchants and cultivators, was overlooked for a time, but it was finally forced upon their attention, and it became necessary to revise the engagements into which

¹ One principal route was by Marwar and Jessulmar, across the desert to Karachi in Sind, whence the Opium was shipped to the Portuguese Settlements, Diu and Daman, in the gulph of Cambay, and thence exported to China in country or Portuguese vessels.

they had entered. Arrangements were formed for the exclusive purchase of the Malwa opium by the Company's agents in the province, but they were not brought into full operation, nor were their consequences correctly appreciated, until a subsequent period.¹

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The rules prescribed for the exclusive manufacture and sale of Salt on the part of the Government, were consolidated and brought into one enactment,² into which provisions were introduced, prohibiting, in the most rigorous manner, the compulsory labour of the salt-manufacturers: no other measure affecting this branch of the revenue was instituted, and it continued to constitute an important article in the resources of the State.³ The Customs had somewhat declined, but this arose from a measure adopted shortly after the renewal of the charter by which, in consequence of orders from home, the duties were generally lowered, and a variety of articles, the produce or manufacture of Great Britain, wholly exempted from any charge upon their being imported into India. As similar immunities were not granted to the manufactures or products of India in the ports of the United Kingdom, this was a piece of selfish legislation in which the interests of the dominant country were alone consulted, and those of the subordinate dependency deliberately injured, the latter being not only deprived of a legitimate source of revenue, but being further exposed to an unequal competition under which native industry was already rapidly decaying.⁴ Some compensation was made to the country by the augmentation of its commerce.⁵

¹ Abstract of Correspondence relating to Malwa Opium. Comm. Committee, 1831. Third Report, Appendix iv. p. 927. The Opium sales in 1823-4, produced 1,380,000*l*.

² Regulation VII. 1829.

³ The amount of the sales of Salt in 1823-24, was 2,400,000.

⁴ Commercial Letter to Bengal, 29th July, 1814.—Comm. Com. 1831. Third Report. First App. No. 19. Regulation Bengal IV. 1815.

⁵ It might be argued, that India benefited by the reduced price of the commodities imported from Great Britain, in proportion to the amount of the duty remitted. But this was disadvantageous in another respect, as it rendered the articles of domestic production still less able to compete with foreign articles in the market, and further discouraged native industry. The competition was unfair. India was young in the processes of manufacture, and was never likely to improve, if her manufactures were to be crushed in their infancy. Could time have been allowed for the acquisition of experience, and the introduction of machinery, her cotton fabrics and her metals would probably have been saleable in her own markets for a less cost than those of Europe. A native sovereign would undoubtedly have given India a chance by the imposition of protective duties.

The question of the adequacy of the territorial resources of India to provide for all her legitimate territorial charges, was more fully discussed at a subsequent period, with the advantage of more mature experience; and we need not therefore pause upon it here. It is sufficient to state that, during the period under review, the disbursements in England exceeded by a million and a half the remittances from India,¹ and were discharged by the surplus profits of the India and China trade; a sum of a million and a half from those profits was also remitted to India in 1818-19, to be applied, conformably to the enactments of the Legislation, to pay off a portion of the outstanding debts. There were also in India means of contributing to the same end to a very considerable amount, and no appeal to the national resources of Great Britain became necessary; on the contrary, the Government of India overcame all its temporary financial difficulties, and upon the restoration of peace was provided with ample means to meet every demand. At no previous period in the history of the country was the credit of the British Government more firmly established, or was the prospect of financial prosperity more promising than at the commencement of the year 1823, when the Marquis of Hastings retired from the guidance of the pecuniary interests of India.

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The same spirit of activity that had animated the civil and military transactions of the period, extended beyond the sphere of official administration, and was busily employed in introducing and developing innovations, the effects of which, although not without immediate influence, were, in a still greater degree, prospective, and constituted the germs of future and more important change. Among these may be reckoned the alterations which the last charter had sanctioned with regard to the advancement of the Church and the propagation of Christianity.

The persevering efforts of a powerful party wrung from

¹ The balance due to Commerce on account of territorial charges, on 30th April, 1823, is stated at 1,564,000*l*. There was also an excess of payments on account of Interest Bills of above 700,000*l*, making the debt due to Commerce in the beginning of 1823, 2,264,000*l*.—Comm. Com. 1832. App. Finance. Territorial Branch in account with Commercial Branch, No. iii. Article 7.

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of them were without churches or consecrated places of worship: the congregations were connected with the pastor by nothing approaching to parochial institutions, and were, in truth, wholly unrelated to him in any respect except community of faith and service. The chaplains were mostly military chaplains, subordinate to the authority of the officer commanding the station to which they were attached, and liable to a reprimand, or even to an arrest, for any infringement of military subordination. A few of the chief civil stations were provided with ministers, but these were as much subject to the orders of the civil Government as their brethren at a military station to the commanding officer. The Bishop had, consequently, no voice in their destination or employment, and his licenses gave them no privilege of which they were not already possessed. His only controul over the clergy was of an invidious character, but even that was of little effect; he could reprove or suspend from all clerical function for misconduct; but, at the distance at which he was situated, an accurate knowledge of the conduct of individuals was scarcely attainable, and his personal visitations were necessarily too rare to inspire much fear of his displeasure. His powers as a Bishop were, therefore, exceedingly limited, and his real position was little more exalted than that of the senior minister at the Presidency. The local Government would willingly have added to his consideration, and resigned to him the appointment of the chaplains to their several stations; but the measure was disapproved of in England, and was after a short interval annulled.¹

Although a man of high intellectual cultivation, and of a kind and amiable nature, Bishop Middleton appears to have wanted the faculty of adapting himself to circumstances, and of yielding as far as might conscientiously have been conceded, to the anomalous position in which he found himself placed. He consequently suffered himself to be annoyed by matters of light consideration, and the expression of his feelings on such occasions somewhat impaired his influence; but the rectitude of his intentions, his disinterested zeal, his high sense of the duties and dignity of the episcopal office, with his unquestioned worth and learning, secured him the personal respect of the

¹ Life of Bp. Middleton, i. 140.



A proposal was made, as we have seen, in the House of Commons, to give a legislative sanction to the establishment of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland in India, concurrently with that of the Church of England; but it was rejected, as inconsistent to recognise two different systems as alike related to the State, and upon the understanding that the Company would provide for the religious necessities of the members of the Scottish Church.¹ A chaplain of that establishment was accordingly appointed by the Court to each of the three Presidencies, and churches were speedily constructed by the liberality of their countrymen in India. Questions of respective rights soon occurred, and especially with regard to the ceremony of marriage, which the Scotch minister maintained that he was entitled to perform according to the rules of his communion, while such marriages were held to be invalid under the Ecclesiastical law of England, conformably to which the See of Calcutta was bound to act. With a view to determine the question, the technical merits of which were involved in obscurity, a petition was presented by the members of the Scotch Society to Parliament, praying that the privilege of being married according to their own forms might be placed beyond a doubt;—on the other hand, the Bishop and English Clergy forwarded a counter-petition, praying that the law regarding matrimony might not be hastily altered, and representing the confusion which would unavoidably attend the hitherto untried experiment of two churches equally accredited by the same country and fully recognised by the same law. Neither of the petitions was presented;

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enthusiastic anticipations. "Can you," he writes to a friend, "forgive the feelings of a founder, if I tell you that the other day, as I listened to the woodman's axe employed in clearing the ground, I actually began to muse upon what might hereafter be the studies and glories of the place."—Life ii. 153. The slow advance of the institution may, perhaps, be partly ascribed to the abandonment or neglect of that part of the original plan, which proposed to open the College in one department to the merely secular English studies of Hindus and Mohammedans; the actual students being expected to prosecute studies chiefly of a religious character, with a view to become qualified as teachers of Christianity. It must, however, be recollected, that twenty-five years are but a short term in the existence of such an establishment, and that the system of which it is a part is still in its infancy.

¹ At a subsequent date the objection was overruled, and the act renewing the Company's Charter in 1833 contained a clause making it incumbent on the Company to maintain two chaplains of the Church of Scotland at each of the Presidencies.

1801K II. the subject had already engaged the attention of the
 CHAP. XII. Houses of Parliament, and a bill was passed in June, 1818,
 ————— legalising both for the past and the future, all marriages
 1811 37. performed in the customary manner by ordained ministers
 of the Church of Scotland officially appointed as chaplains
 in India, provided that one or both of the parties professed
 to be a member of the Scottish Church.¹

The facilities afforded by the Legislature to the admission into the territories of the Company of persons undertaking to disseminate a knowledge of Christianity among the natives were speedily taken advantage of, and the several religious communities of the United Kingdom rivalled each other in their exertions to improve the efficiency of the missions formerly sent out, or to establish them where none had previously existed. In the south there were remains of the Tranquebar and Tinnivelly missions, originally encouraged and assisted by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, but sadly declined from their former flourishing condition. They were now, however, renovated by the patronage of the original promoters, and that of the Church Missionary Society. In Bengal, the Baptist Mission was very largely reinforced, but was no longer suffered to labour alone, the Church Missionary and London Missionary Societies supporting an equal number of instructors in Christian truth. Other communities were not idle; and even America sent forth auxiliaries to the cause in India, while more especially interesting herself in Ceylon and the Burman dominions. More than one hundred missionaries, besides schoolmasters and native catechists, were assembled in British India in 1823² for missionary purposes, in place of the scanty number who held a precarious footing there prior to the renewal of the charter.

¹ Life of Bp. Middleton, i. 132. Thornton's Law of India, 214.

² By the General Survey of Missions in India, published in the Church Missionary Register for 1823, the following appears to be the number and distribution of the missionaries of the several associations.

	BENGAL.	MADRAS.	BOMBAY.
Christian Knowledge Society . . .	1	7	0
Church Missionary Society . . .	19	11	1
London Missionary Society . . .	11	14	3
Baptist	33	0	0
Wesleyan	0	3	0
American	0	0	4
	<u>64</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>8</u>

Besides, however, the direct employment of missionaries, a variety of important accessories to the diffusion of the Gospel were set on foot; and Committees of the Bible Society and of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were formed at each of the Presidencies, for the purpose of promoting generally the operations of the missionaries, and supplying the necessary aids to instruction, in copies of the Scriptures, and translations of them and of scriptural tracts into the native languages. Each of the principal missionary establishments was provided with a printing-press of its own, although none engaged so largely in the work of translating and printing as the Baptist Mission of Serampore, under whose superintendence, by the end of 1822, either the whole, or considerable portions of the Scriptures had been printed and circulated in twenty languages spoken in India, while translations into other dialects were in progress. These translations were hastily executed, and without adequate previous preparation; but they formed a groundwork on which improved versions might be conveniently executed, and led the way to maturer and more perfect performances.

Notwithstanding all this manifestation of energy, and the immense sums which were raised in England and in India for the great object of the conversion of the natives, the work went slowly forward. Few genuine converts were made, and of them fewer still were persons of consideration or rank.¹ Various causes contributed to retard the progress of Christian truth. There were real difficulties in the way of its being embraced by the Hindus, as its adoption involved not merely a profession of faith, or a departure from forms or ceremonies, but a change of the habits of a whole life, and a violent disruption of all social ties. It required a stronger love of truth than prevailed among the Hindus to persuade them to such a sacrifice. As subjects of speculation, the great doctrines of Christianity might have found acceptance; but it was scarcely to be expected that men grown old in a system which was

¹ In 1823, the Serampore missionaries estimated the number of natives in the Bengal province converted to Christianity by the union of the Churches, engaged in spreading the Gospel in India, at one thousand. The author of a work called "Queries and Replies," published in Calcutta, denied the accuracy of the estimate, and asserted that the full number did not exceed three hundred, it might be less.—Lushington's Institutions in Calcutta, p. 226.

tined to follow learning as a profession, whether Hindus or Mohammedans, went through a long and arduous course of study, which, whatever its moral or religious tendency was not unpropitious to intellectual development. Some of the sons of wealthy persons were occasionally carried beyond the mere rudiments of their own speech, and were accomplished Persian scholars, or were made to acquire some conversancy with English; but the mass of the people were either wholly untaught, or were instructed in the lowest possible amount of human knowledge. It is sufficiently illustrative of the defects of the system to observe that it did not comprehend the use of books: the boy learnt his letters by copying them from a board before him, on sand or on palm leaves, and the same process taught him to write. He acquired some knowledge of spelling by reiterating the syllables aloud, as they were repeated aloud by the master or the monitor; and the rudiments of arithmetic were learned in the same manner. No faculty was exercised except that of the memory; and no opportunity was afforded him of acquiring a knowledge of useful facts, or of becoming imbued with those moral sentiments which are indirectly conveyed through fables and fictions suited to youthful imaginations. To correct this system—to substitute for it an education better meriting the name—to enlarge the mind—to ameliorate the feelings—to inculcate principles of morality, was felt by persons of all persuasions to be an indispensable prelude to the elevation of the national character, and a probable preparation for the more extensive dissemination of Christianity. The Governments at the three Presidencies took the lead in recognizing the necessity of raising the standard of education among the natives; and although deeming it to be impolitic, and incompatible with their obligations to their native subjects, to take an active share in those measures which combined religious with secular tuition, they liberally encouraged and assisted with funds the various schemes that were now set on foot for the improvement of native education.¹

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¹ The Baptist Mission, in 1824, had thirty schools under its charge, containing about three thousand children. A like number were taught in about twenty schools in the neighbourhood of Chinsura, under the conduct of missionaries of the London Missionary Society, but with the pecuniary aid of the Government. The Church Missionary Society, besides schools in Calcutta

BOOK II. The chief object of most of the schools which were thus
CHAP. XII. established, was instruction in the language of the country
 1814-23. through the medium of books compiled and printed for the purpose, in which sound principles of morality were inculcated; the most interesting works of human skill and divine power were described; the leading facts of geography and history were narrated, and European methods of calculation were explained. In most of the Missionary schools translations of the Old and New Testaments formed part of the course of reading; but it was considered expedient in many places, even by the bodies representing in India the religious societies in England, to avoid adopting any arrangement which should inspire the natives with a suspicion of the ultimate object of the schools, and deter them from giving to their children the benefit of a course of instruction which could not fail to elevate their principles, at the same time that it insured them novel and beneficial information. In addition to those seminaries which proposed instruction in the knowledge of Europe, conveyed through the vernacular dialects, the Government felt it to be equally a duty to encourage the studies of those among the natives of India, who followed the learning of the country as a literary class, and devoted their lives to the cultivation of Sanscrit and Arabic literature. Besides the obligation of compensating for the loss of that patronage which Maulavis and Pundits were formerly accustomed to receive from natives of wealth and power, whom the rule of foreigners had impoverished or annihilated, and the policy of gaining the goodwill of the people by countenancing pursuits to which

and other places, had a number at Burdwan, where nearly two thousand boys were instructed; there were also in the same neighbourhood ten female schools. The Christian Knowledge Society established several schools in the vicinity of Calcutta. In Calcutta, a School Society was formed of respectable natives conjointly with Europeans, to superintend and improve the indigenous schools in that city. A number of schools, containing about two thousand eight hundred boys, were brought under their supervision, and an English school was established, admittance to which was the reward of distinction in the native seminaries; to this the Government also liberally contributed. In order to supply all these different seminaries with books, a School-Book Society was likewise formed for the printing of original or translated works of an elementary class suited to juvenile instruction. Many natives of talent and respectability engaged in the preparation of these works. The Government also contributed to the expense. At Bombay a Society of Europeans and natives was formed for promoting native education, and there, as well as at Madras and in Bengal, the Missionary Committees were active in forming and conducting native schools.

they attached almost exclusive estimation, it was thought prudent to acquire a direct influence over the national studies, with a view to improve the mode of their cultivation, to direct them to practical objects connected with the courts of justice, in which many questions were determinable according to the rules of Mohammedan and Hindu law, and to graft upon them, by degrees, the knowledge of the West, which could scarcely be communicated to the literary classes through any other channel. It was also anticipated, that, once masters of such information, the persons to whom literary occupation was a livelihood would be the fittest and most capable agents in its dissemination. With these purposes, the existing native colleges were subjected to qualified European supervision; and the project of Lord Minto, of establishing colleges at Nuddea and Tirhoot, was commuted to the institution of a Sanscrit college in Calcutta for the tuition of Brahmans; and of youths of the medical caste. The college was not founded until after the departure of the Governor-General from India; but the plan was matured, and, the preliminary steps were taken during his administration.

Most of the Missionary establishments attempted the formation of an English school in connexion with their indigenous schools; and, in some cases, promotion to an English school was made the reward of diligence in the native seminaries. There prevailed, however, no very ardent desire to benefit by such opportunities; and very extensive distrust of the ulterior object of the English schools, of their being intended, under cover of instruction in English, to convert the youth to Christianity, deterred the people from having recourse to them. The amount of instruction sought for, was also of the very lowest description; and the great aim of those by whom the schools were attended, was to become qualified for the duties of a copyist, or a clerk in some public or private office. The want of tuition of a higher character became at last perceptible to the more respectable classes of the Hindus, and they displayed a readiness to make arrangements for its provision, which was only checked by the fear of endangering their national worship. To remove this source of apprehension, they were encouraged by several of the principal members of the British community, to

BOOK II.

CHAP. XII.

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BOOK II. establish an English seminary on a liberal foundation, of
 CHAP. XII. which they should retain the entire direction in their own
 hands, and over which they should exercise undivided
 1814-23. control; a joint committee of Europeans and natives
 was formed, to consider and determine the general plan
 of the establishment, after which the European members
 withdrew from all interference; the consequence was the
 foundation of the English College of Calcutta, an institu-
 tion which promises to exert an important influence upon
 intellectual development in Bengal.¹

The measures of the Government of Madras were confined during the period under consideration to the acquirement of information respecting the state of education in the provinces: the Collectors were directed to report the number of the schools and colleges in their respective Collectorates; but some interval necessarily elapsed before the receipt of their replies. The advance of native education was in a somewhat more forward state at Bombay, and a society was formed in 1815, for the promotion of the education of the poor, by which several schools were established with the aid of the Government. In 1822, societies were formed, having for their objects more especially the improvement of native education.²

Another act originating with the Governor-General, was a departure from the cautious policy of former Governments in regard to the Press of India, and the removal of

¹ The leading Europeans on this occasion were the Chief Justice, Sir Edward Hyde East, and Mr. Harington, a member of the Supreme Council. According to Mr. Hough (*History of Christianity in India*, iv. 393), of these two gentlemen, the latter retired from the Committee at the desire of the Governor-General, apprehending that his appearance at the head of the college might be construed into an attempt of the Government to convert the natives. "Sir Edward also," he says, "out of respect to the Government, was induced to retire, to the great surprise and disappointment of all who had embarked in the work." These circumstances seem to rest upon misinformation. The author with many others beside the two gentlemen specified, was included in the Committee, and the principle of their proceedings was from the first, the relinquishment of the institution to native management exclusively, as soon as the mode of conducting it, and the course of study to be pursued in it, was devised. Bishop Middleton's notice of the seminary is in accordance with the author's recollections. "The wealthy Hindoos have just set on foot a school or college, without any aid or countenance from the Government, who (very wisely, I think), have wished the work to be done by themselves;" i. 391.

² For these and the foregoing particulars respecting the progress of education from 1814 to 1823,—see Lushington's *History of Religious, Benevolent, and Charitable Institutions of Calcutta*, Cal. 1814, Church Missionary Register.—*Reports of Societies*, and a valuable Memoir by Mr. Fisher on the Establishment of Native Schools by the Local Governments of India.—Comm. Com. 1832, Appendix Public, i.

some of the restraints to which it had been subjected. In the early portion of its career, the Indian Press had been left to follow its own course, with no other check than that which the law of libel imposed. The character of the papers of early days, sufficiently shew that the indulgence was abused, and that while they were useless as vehicles of local information of any value, they were filled with indecorous attacks upon private life, and ignorant censures of public measures. To repress so great a nuisance, Lord Wellesley, after sending one Editor to England, and intimidating others into a prudent reserve, established a censorship; and the journals were submitted on the eve of their issue, to the perusal of an officer of the Government, by whom, what he considered objectionable matter, was struck out. This control, and the improving taste and feelings of the age, gave to the Indian chronicles a new character, and rendered them respectable, if not very authentic, vehicles of public information. The duties of the Censorship were leniently discharged, and little dissatisfaction was felt with the existing practice, when the Marquis of Hastings, entertaining exalted notions of the benefits of a free expression of the sentiments of the public, determined to relieve it from the only restraint under which it laboured. At the same time, the Press was by no means left to its own guidance; and defined limits circumscribed its freedom. The Censor was removed, but the Editors were restricted from publishing animadversions on the proceedings of the Indian authorities in England; disquisitions on the political transactions of the local administration, or offensive remarks on the public conduct of the members of the Council, the Judges, or the Bishop of Calcutta; discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the natives as to any intended interference with their religion; the republication from English or other newspapers of passages coming under the preceding heads, or otherwise calculated to affect the British power or reputation in India; and private scandal, or personal remarks on individuals, tending to excite dissensions in society. The Editors were held responsible for the observance of these rules, under the penalty of being proceeded against in such manner as

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¹ See the orders in the Asiatic Monthly Journal, June, 1820, p. 610.

BOOK II. the Governor-General might think applicable to the nature of the offence. Subject to these limits and responsibilities, the Press was free, both to Europeans and to natives.

1814-23. The establishment of a free Press in India was contemplated with very different feelings by different classes of persons; and, as usual in controverted topics, both the benefits and evils of the measure were greatly exaggerated. The main advantages, as stated by Lord Hastings himself,¹ were the salutary control which public scrutiny exercises over supreme authority; and the cheerfulness and zeal with which all ranks of society co-operate in measures, the motives and objects of which they understand, and in which they concur. This scrutiny and this concurrence, however, were wholly at variance with the circumstances of society in India, the bulk of which was formed of the salaried servants of the Government, already bound by their engagements to furnish it with information, and to execute its commands. The remainder of the Indian public consisted of a very few merchants, traders, or artisans, residing in India upon sufferance, having no acknowledged place in the constitution of the Government, no voice in its proceedings, no permanent stake in the welfare of the country, and little, if any, knowledge of its condition or relations. Much benefit could not be anticipated from the comments of a few hundred persons of this description, administered through conductors of journals, who were either public servants themselves, or were dependent for their privilege of dwelling in India upon the pleasure of the superior powers: the whole forming a body of no weight or influence, and in no essential point corresponding with a public, such as the term denoted in the parent country. The same circumstances, however, if they nullify the advantages of newspaper enlightenment, also counteracted its mischievous tendencies, and rendered the Indian Press incapable of embarrassing the purposes or proceedings of the State. It might, become, as it had previously been, a source of annoyance to individuals, a vehicle of private calumny or malice; but, as far as the political interests of Great

¹ Answer to an Address presented by the inhabitants of Madras, 24th July, 1819. Asiatic Journal, Jan. 1820.

Britain and India were concerned, its influence was too insignificant to endanger their stability or alter their relations. The Government, also, had full power to arrest any such mischievous attempts at their outset. The unbridled freedom of the native Press involved weightier consequences, as its lucubrations were addressed to vast, independent, and ill-constructed multitudes. Such an organ directed by hostile agency might misrepresent the acts and purposes of the ruling authority, and inspire the people with deep and dangerous discontent. That Press, however, had yet scarcely sprung into existence; and the system was too new and strange, too foreign to the habits and feelings of the people, to grow by rapid steps, into a wide-spread and commanding influence. The Government had here, also, the remedy in its own hands, and the so-termed freedom of the Indian Press was, in reality, a matter of very little moment.

The first experience of the consequences of removing the supervision of the Censor was, however, calculated to confirm the apprehensions of those who were adverse to its abolition. The measure was followed by the establishment of a Journal,¹ which infringed the prohibitory rules that had been substituted for the censorship, lent itself to the utterance of morbid discontent and personal resentment, assailed the conduct of private individuals, impeached the acts of public functionaries, spread acrimonious dissensions through society, and defied, while it affected to deprecate, the displeasure of the Government.² Repeated intimations of that displeasure were communicated to the Editor through the usual official channels, and he was warned on more than one occasion that, unless he conformed to the regulations established for the guidance of the press, his licence to remain in India would be revoked, and he would be required to proceed to England. A probable consciousness of the incongruity of so severe a punishment with the eulogium which he had pronounced upon the expression of public opinion, as well as

¹ The Calcutta Journal, of which the Proprietor and Editor was Mr. J. S. Buckingham, a gentleman permitted to reside in Calcutta by special licence.

² Letter from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal to Mr. Buckingham, 17th May, 1821, cited in the Statement of Facts, printed in Calcutta.

BOOK II. the genuine kindness of his nature, rendered the Governor-
 CHAP. XII. General reluctant to inflict the penalty that had been threat-
 1814-23. ened, and he left India without having carried his menaces
 into effect. A more consistent course was followed by the
 firmness of his successor. Although, however checked in
 the abuse of its nascent liberty, the press of Calcutta was
 liberated from the risk of needless and vexatious inter-
 ference, and became, both in the English and native lan-
 guages, a useful instrument in the dissemination of
 knowledge.¹

The most important of the proceedings in England
 originating in the interval which has been reviewed, have
 already been described. Few others, relating to the
 administration of affairs in India, engaged the attention of
 Parliament or the Company. The thanks of both for the
 services of the Marquis of Hastings in the Pindari war
 were voted with general consent; but neither on these
 occasions, nor on that of the war of Nepal, did the
 Ministers or the Directors pronounce any sufficient com-
 mendation of the chief merits of Lord Hastings,—the
 soundness, foresight, and comprehensiveness of his policy,
 which were more remarkable even than the wisdom, skill,
 and energy of his military operations. A small, but
 influential party in the Board, and in the Court of Di-
 rectors, still adhered to the narrow and antiquated views
 of the days of Sir George Barlow, and affected to regret
 the extension of the British dominions in India. It was
 to the Commander-in-Chief, therefore, that the thanks
 were presented. In that capacity, also, a grant of sixty
 thousand pounds was voted to be vested in the hands of
 trustees for the benefit of the Marquis and his family.²

Notwithstanding these demonstrations of approval,
 which could not in justice or decency be withheld, the
 Governor-General, deeply mortified by the want of confi-
 dence exhibited in the correspondence of the Court re-
 lating to the Hyderabad affair, and indignant at the tone
 in which their sentiments were expressed, determined to
 relinquish his high office, and to rejoin his family in

¹ The first Bengal newspaper, the *Sambád Chandriká*, or "Moon of Intelli-
 gence," was started in 1822. At present, 1846, there are five in Bengali and
 three in Persian printed in Calcutta, besides others at the different Presidencies
 The circulation of each is but small.

² May 15th, 1819.

Europe. His resignation was tendered in 1821. It was then felt that the tribute due to his great services in peace, as well as in war, could no longer be deferred; and on the 23rd of May, 1822, a resolution of the Court of Directors was communicated to the Proprietors, expressing their deep regret at the resignation of the Marquis of Hastings, and offering him their thanks for the unremitting zeal and eminent ability with which, during a period of nearly nine years, he had administered the government of British India, with such high credit to himself, and advantage to the interests of the East India Company. The Court of Proprietors adopted the resolution; and, adverting to the previous acknowledgment which had passed the Court of the great military and political talents of the Governor-General, requested the executive body to convey to his Lordship the expression of their admiration, gratitude, and applause. The vote was just, though tardy. The administration of the Marquis of Hastings may be regarded as the completion of the great scheme of which Clive had laid the foundation, and Warren Hastings and the Marquis Wellesley had reared the superstructure. The crowning pinnacle was the work of Lord Hastings, and by him was the supremacy of the British Empire in India proper finally established. Of the soundness of the work no better proof can be afforded than the fact that there has been no international warfare since his administration. Rajput, Mahratta, and Mohammedan have remained at peace with each other under the shade of the British power. The wars in which the latter has been engaged have carried that power beyond the boundaries of Hindustan, but no interruption of internal tranquillity from the Himalaya to the sea has been suffered or attempted.

The Marquis of Hastings quitted his government on the 1st of January, 1823. Expressions of regret for his departure had previously poured in from every quarter, and there is reason to believe that they were sincere.

Lord Hastings had deserved well both of the European and native community. He was not indifferent to the good opinion of those subordinate to his station or subject to his authority, and sought it not only by the splendour of his military triumphs, the comprehensiveness of

BOOK II.
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BOOK II. his foreign policy, or the diligence, wisdom, and rectitude
 CHAP. XII. of his civil administration, but by considerations for the
 ——— feelings, and anxiety for the prosperity and happiness, of
 1814-20. every order of society. Whatever plan proposed the
 amelioration of the condition of the natives of India,
 whatever tended to their moral and intellectual elevation,
 received his hearty countenance and coöperation ; and in
 the minor, but not unimportant article of personal de-
 portment, Lord Hastings was ever scrupulously concili-
 atory and kind to every class of the native population.
 The example which he set was not in vain : and it was
 under his administration that even the respectable native
 inhabitants of the Presidency were first seen to associate
 on an equal footing with Europeans in devising and carry-
 ing out projects of public good. With the European
 portion of the society his habits were the same ; and no
 sacrifice of personal comfort or convenience deterred
 Lord Hastings from promoting, by his participation and
 encouragement, whatever was projected for the diffusion
 of benevolence, the cultivation of knowledge, and the
 general good and happiness of the community.

The glories of the early administration of the Marquis
 of Hastings were heightened by the mild lustre of its
 close ; and the triumphs of military success were justi-
 fied by their application to the maintenance of universal
 tranquillity, the promotion of the welfare of the people
 and the prosperity and consolidation of the British Empire
 in India.

APPENDIX.

I.

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*From Umur Singh and his sons, Ram Das, and Urjun Thapa:
to the Raja of Nipal, dated Raj-gurh, 2nd March, 1815.*

A copy of your letter of the 23rd December, addressed to Runjoor Singh, under the Red Seal, was sent by the latter to me, who have received it with every token of respect. It was to the following purport:—"The capture of Nalapanee by the enemy has been communicated to me from Gurhwal and Kumaon, as also the intelligence of his having¹ marched to Nahn: having assembled his force, he now occupies the whole country from Barapursa to Subturee and Muhotree. My army is also secretly posted in various places in the junguls of the mountains. An army under a general has arrived in Gornkpoor, for Palpa, and another detachment has reached the borders of Beejypoor. I have further heard that a general-officer has set off from Calcutta, to give us further trouble. For the sake of a few trifling objects, some intermediate agents have destroyed the mutual harmony, and war is waging far and wide: all this you know. You ought to send an embassy to conciliate the English, otherwise the cause is lost. The enemy, after making immense preparations, have begun the war, and unless great concessions are made they will not listen to terms. To restore the relations of amity by concession is good and proper; for this purpose it is fit, in the first place, to cede to the enemy the departments of Bootwul, Palpa, and Shecoraj, and the disputed tracts already settled by the commissioners towards Barah.¹ If this be insufficient to re-establish harmony, we ought to abandon the whole of the Tarace, the Doon, and the low lands; and if the English are still dissatisfied, on account of not obtaining possession of a portion of the

No. 1.

¹ Meaning the twenty-two villages on the Sarun frontier.

No. I.

mountains, you are herewith authorised to give up, with the Doon, the country as far as the Sutlej. Do whatever may be practicable to restore the relations of peace and amity, and be assured of my approbation and assent. If these means be unsuccessful, it will be very difficult to preserve the integrity of my dominions from Kunka Teestta to the Sutlej. If the enemy once obtain a footing in the centre of our territory, both extremities will be thrown into disorder. If you can retire with your army and military stores to pursue any other plan of operations that may afterwards appear eligible, it will be advisable. On this account, you ought immediately to effect a junction with all the other officers on the western service, and retire to any part of our territory which, as far as Nipal, you may think yourself capable of retaining. These are your orders."

In the first place, after the immense preparations of the enemy, he will not be satisfied with all these concessions; or if he should accept of our terms, he would serve us as he did Tippoo, from whom he first accepted of an indemnification of six crores of rupees in money and territory, and afterwards wrested from him his whole country. If we were to cede to him so much country, he would seek some fresh occasion of quarrel, and at a future opportunity would wrest from us other provinces. Having lost so much territory, we should be unable to maintain our army on its present footing; and our military fame being once reduced, what means should we have left to defend our eastern possessions? While we retain Bisahur, Gurliwal is secure: if the former be abandoned, the Bhooteas of Ruwain will certainly betray us. The English having thus acquired the Doon and Ruwain, it will be impossible for us to maintain Gurhwal; and being deprived of the latter, Kumaon and Dotee will be also lost to us. After the seizure of these provinces, Achain, Joomlee, and Dooloo, will be wrested from us in succession. You say "that a proclamation has been issued to the inhabitants of the eastern kurats;" if they have joined the enemy, the other kurats will do so likewise, and the country, Dood Koosee, on the east, to Bheeré, on the west, cannot be long retained. Having lost your dominions, what is to become of your great military establishments? When our power is once reduced, we shall have another Knox's mission, under pretence of concluding a treaty of alliance and friendship, and founding commercial establishments. If we decline receiving their mission, they will insist; and if we are unable to oppose force, and desire them to come unaccom-

panied with troops, they will not comply. They will begin by introducing a company: a battalion will follow, and at length an army will be assembled for the subjection of Nipal. You think that if, for the present, the lowlands, the Doon, and the country to the Sutlej, were ceded to them, they would cease to entertain designs upon the other provinces of Nipal. Do not trust them! They who counselled you to receive the mission of Knox, and permit the establishment of a commercial factory, will usurp the government of Nipal. With regard to the concessions now proposed, if you had, in the first instance, decided on a pacific line of conduct, and agreed to restore the departments of Bootwal and Sheeraj, as adjusted by the commissioners, the present contest might have been avoided. But you could not suppress your desire to retain these places, and, by murdering their revenue officer, excited their indignation, and kindled a war for trifles.

At Jythuk we have obtained a victory over the enemy. If I succeed against General Ochtertony, and Runjoor Singh, with Juspao Thapa and his officers, prevail at Jythuk, Runjeet Singh will rise against the enemy. In conjunction with the Seiks, my army will make a descent into the plains; and our forces, crossing the Jumna from two different quarters, will recover possession of the Doon. When we reach Hurdwar, the Nuwab of Lukhnou may be expected to take a part in the cause; and, on his accession to the general coalition, we may consider ourselves secure as far as Khuuka. Relying on your fortune, I trust that Bulbhudur Koonwur and Rewunt Kajee will soon be able to reinforce the garrison of Jythuk; and I hope, ere long, to send Punt Kajee with eight companies, when the force there will be very strong. The troops sent by you are arriving every day: and when they all come up, I hope we shall succeed both here and at Jythuk.

Formerly, when the English endeavoured to penetrate to Sundowlee, they continued for two years in possession of Barch Pursa and Muhotree; but, when you conquered Nipal, they were either destroyed by your force, or fell victims to the climate, with the exception of a few only, who abandoned the place. Orders should now be given to all your officers to defend Choudundee, and Choudena in Bejypoor, and the two kurats, and the ridge of Mahabharut. Suffer the enemy to retain the low lands for a couple of years: measures can afterwards be taken to expel them. Lands transferred under a written agreement

- No 1. cannot again be required; but if they have been taken by force, force may be employed to recover them. Fear nothing, even though the Seiks should not join us. Should you succeed now in bringing our differences to an amicable termination by the cession of territory, the enemy in the course of a few years would be in possession of Nipal, as he took possession of the country of Tippoo. The present, therefore, is not the time for treaty and conciliation. Their expedients should have been tried before the murder of the revenue officer (in Gorakhpore), or must be postponed till victory shall crown our efforts. If they will then accede to the terms which I shall propose, it is well; if not, with the favour of God and your fortune and bounty, it shall be my business to preserve the integrity of my country from Kunka to to the Sutlej. Let me entreat you, therefore, never to make peace. Formerly, when some individuals urged the adoption of a treaty of peace and commerce, I refused my assent to that measure; I will not now suffer the honour of my prince to be sullied by concession and submission. If you are determined on this step, bestow the humiliating office on him who first advised it. But for me, call me to your presence: I am old, and only desire once more to kiss your feet. I can recollect the time when the Goorkha army did not exceed twelve thousand men. Through the favour of heaven, and by the valour of your forefathers, your territory was extended to the confines of Khunka, on the east. Under the auspices of your father, we subjugated Kumaon; and, through your fortune, we have pushed our conquests to the Sutlej. Four generations have been employed in the acquisition of all this dignity and dominion. At Nalapanee, Balbhudur defeated three or four thousand of the enemy. At Jythak, Runjoor Singh, with his officers, overthrew two battalions. In this place I am surrounded, and daily fighting with the enemy, and look forward with confidence to victory. All the inhabitants and chiefs of the country have joined the enemy. I must gain two or three victories before I can accomplish the object I have in view—of attaching Runjeet Singh to our cause. On his accession, and after the advance of the Seiks and Goorkhas towards the Jumna, the chiefs of the Dukhun may be expected to join the coalition, as also the Nawab of Lakhnow, and the Salik-Ramee-Leech.¹ Then will be the time for us to drive out the enemy, and recover possession of the low countries of Palpa,

¹ It is not known who Umur Singh means by the Salik-Ramee-Leech; and some other of his names of places and persons differ from any in common use.

as far as Beejypoor. If we succeed in regaining these, we can attempt further conquest in the plains.

No. 1.

There has been no fighting in your quarter yet; the Choundundee and Choudena of Beejypoor, as far as the ridge of Mulhabharut and Soolceana, should be well defended. Countries acquired in four generations, under the administration of the Thapas, should not be abandoned for the purpose of bringing matters to an amicable adjustment, without deep and serious reflection. If we are victorious in the war, we can easily adjust our differences; and if we are defeated, death is preferable to a reconciliation on humiliating terms. When the Chinese army invaded Nipal, we implored the mercy of Heaven by offerings to the Brahmins, and the performance of religious ceremonies; and, through the favour of one and intercession of the other, we succeeded in repulsing the enemy. Ever since you confiscated the Jageers of the Brahmins, thousands have been in distress and poverty. Promises were given that they should be restored at the capture of Kangrah; and orders to this effect, under the red seal, were addressed to me, and Nin Singh Thapa. We failed, however, in that object, and now there is universal discontent. You ought, therefore, to assemble all the Brahmins, and promise to restore them their lands and property, in the event of your conquering and expelling the English. By these means many thousand worthy Brahmins will put up their prayers for your prosperity, and the enemy will be driven forth. By the practice of charity, the territory acquired in four generations may be preserved; and, through the favour of God, our power and dominion may be still further extended. By the extension of territory, our military establishment may be maintained on its present footing, and even increased. The numerous countries which you propose to cede to the enemy yielded a revenue equal to the maintenance of an army of four thousand men, and Kangrah might have been captured. By the cession of these provinces, the reputation and splendour of your Court will no longer remain. By the capture of Kangrah, your name would have been rendered formidable; and, though that has not happened, a powerful impression has, nevertheless, been made on the people of the plains by the extension of your conquests to the Sutlej. To effect a reconciliation by the cession of the country to the west of the Jumna, would give rise to the idea that the Goorkhas were unable to oppose the English, would lower the dignity of your name in the plains, and cause a reduction of your army to

No. I. the extent of four thousand men. The enemy will, moreover, require the possession of Buthur, and after that the conquest of Gurhwal will be easy; nor will it be possible, in that case, for us to retain Kunzon, and with it we must lose Dece, Acham, and Jwarlah, whence he may be expected to penetrate even to Bherce. If the English once establish themselves firmly in possession of a part of the hills, we shall be unable to drive them out. The countries towards the Sutlej should be obstinately defended; the abandonment of the disputed tracts in the plains is a lesser evil; the possession of the former preserves to us the road to further conquest. You ought, therefore, to direct Ganga Rungnath Pandit and Dulhanjan Pandeh to give up the disputed lands of Buthur, Shewraj, and the twenty-two villages in the vicinity of Buth; and then, if possible, bring our differences to a termination. To this step I have no objections, and shall feel no animosity to those who may perform this service. I must, however, declare a decided hostility to such as, in bringing about a reconciliation with the English, consult only their own interest, and forget their duty to you. If they will not accept these terms, what have we to fear? The English attempted to take Bhurtpoor by storm; but the Raja Runjeet Singh destroyed a European regiment, and a battalion of *sappers*. To the present day they have not ventured to meddle with Bhurtpoor again; whence it would seem that one fort has sufficed to check their progress. In the low country of Bherma they established their authority; but the Raja overthrew their army, and captured all their artillery and stores, and now lives and continues in quiet possession of his dominions. Our proffers of peace and reconciliation will be interpreted as the result of fear; and it would be absurd to expect that the enemy will respect a treaty concluded under such circumstances. Therefore, let us confide our fortunes to our swords; and, by boldly opposing the enemy, compel him to remain within his own territory;—or, if he should continue to advance, stung with shame at the idea of retreating, after his immense preparations, we can then give up the lands in dispute, and adjust our differences. Such, however, is the fame and terror of our swords, that Balldhur, with a force of six hundred men, defeated an army of three or four thousand English. His force consisted of the old Gourukh and Kurrukh companies, which were only partly composed of the inhabitants of our ancient kingdom, and of the people of the countries from Bherce to Gurhwal; and with these he de-

No. I.

stroyed one battalion, and crippled and repulsed another. My army is similarly composed: nevertheless, all descriptions are eager to meet the enemy. In your quarter you are surrounded with the veterans of our army, and cannot apprehend desertion from them;—you have also an immense militia, and many Jagcerdars, who will fight for their own honour and interests. Assembling the militia of the low land, and fighting in the plains, is impolitic: call them into the hills, and cut the enemy up by detail—(a passage here, the sense of which cannot be discovered). The enemy is proud, and flushed with success, and has reduced under his subjection all the western Zemindars, the Ranas, and Raja of Kuhlur, and the Thakooraen, and will keep peace with no one. However, my advice is nothing. I will direct Ram Doss to propose to General Ochterlony the abandonment, on our part, of the disputed lands, and will forward to you the answer which he may receive. All the Ranas, Rajas, and Thakooraen, have joined the enemy, and I am surrounded: nevertheless, we shall fight and conquer, and all my officers have taken the same resolution. The Pandits have pronounced the month of Bysakh as particularly auspicious for the Goorkhas; and, by selecting a fortunate day, we shall surely conquer. I am desirous of engaging the enemy slowly and with caution, but cannot manage it, the English being always first to begin the fight. I hope, however, to be able to delay the battle till Bysakh (April, May), when I will choose a favourable opportunity to fight them. When we shall have driven the enemy from hence, either Runjoor or myself, according to your wishes, will repair to your presence. In the present crisis, it is very advisable to write to the Emperor of China, and to the Lama of Lassa, and to the other Lamas; and, for this purpose, I beg leave to submit the enclosed draft of a letter to their address; any errors in it, I trust, will be forgiven by you; and I earnestly recommend that you will lose no time in sending a petition to the Emperor of China, and a letter to the Lama.

II.

PAGE 57.

Proposed Petition to the Emperor of China by the Raja of Nepal.

I yield obedience to the Emperor of China, and no one dare
invade my dominions; or if any power has ventured to encroach

No. II.

No II. on my territory, through your favour and protection I have been able to discomfit and expel them. Now, however, a powerful and inveterate enemy has attacked me; and, as I owe allegiance to you, I rely on obtaining your assistance and support. From Khandka to the Setlej for a thousand *kos* war is raging between us. Entertaining designs upon Bhote, the enemy endeavours to get possession of Nepal, and for these objects he has fomented a quarrel and declared war. Five or six great actions have been already fought; but, through the fortune and glory of your Imperial Majesty, I have succeeded in destroying about twenty thousand of the enemy; but his wealth and military resources are great, and he sustains the loss without receding a step. On the contrary, numerous reinforcements continue to arrive, and my country is invaded on all points. Though I might obtain a hundred thousand soldiers from the hills and plains, yet without pay they cannot be maintained; and though I have every desire to pay them, I have not the means. Without soldiers I cannot repel the enemy. Consider the Gorkhas as your tributaries; reflect that the English come to conquer Nepal and Bhote, and for these reasons be graciously pleased to assist us with a sum of money, that we may levy an army and drive forth the invaders. Or, if you are unwilling to assist us with subsidies, and prefer sending an army to our aid, it is well. The climate of Dharma (Bhután) is temperate, and you may safely send an army of two or three hundred thousand men by the route of Dharma into Bengal, spreading alarm and consternation among the Europeans as far as Calcutta. The enemy has subjugated all the Rajas of the plains, and usurped the throne of the King of Delhi, and therefore it is to be expected that these would all unite in expelling the Europeans from Hindustan. By such an event your name will be renowned throughout all Jambudwip (India); and wherever you may command, the whole of its inhabitants will be forward in your service. Should you think that the conquest of Nepal, and the forcible separation of the Gorkhas from their dependence on the Emperor of China, cannot materially affect your Majesty's interests, I beseech you to reflect, that without your aid I cannot repulse the English; that these are the people who have already subdued all India, and usurped the throne of Delhi; that with my army and resources I am quite unable to make head against them; and that the world will henceforth say, that the Emperor of China abandoned to their fate his tributaries and dependants. I acknowledge the su-

premacv of the Emperor of China above all the potentates on earth. The English, after obtaining possession of Nepal, will advance by the routes of Bhadrinath and Mansarowar, and also by that of Digarchi, for the purpose of conquering Lassa. I beg, therefore, that you will write an order to the English, directing them to withdraw their forces from the territory of the Gorkha State, which is tributary and dependent upon you, otherwise that you will send an army to our aid. I beseech you, however, to lose no time in sending assistance, whether in men or money that I may drive out the enemy and maintain possession of the mountains; otherwise he will, in a few years, be master of Lassa.

No. II.

III.

PAGE 57.

From the three Governors at Arzung, named, first, Shee-Chan-Chun, principal Vizir: secondly, Shce-Taran: and thirdly, Kho-Taran. Let this Letter be taken to the Officer commanding at Rungpur, who, after opening it and ascertaining its contents, will forward it to his master.

This is written by the enlightened Vizir of his Majesty the Emperor of China, and by the two Vizirs who are Hakims of this place, namely, Shce-Taran and Kho-Taran. These three, of whom one has lately arrived from the capital, from the presence of the Emperor, and the other two the Governors of Arzung, have agreed to write to the English gentlemen as follows:—

No. III.

From a letter which was received from the Raja of Gorkha, addressed to the two Tarans, it was understood that the English had demanded of the Raja of Gorkha, and of Dhama Shanga, a free passage to this quarter, declaring that they had no intention of attacking those chiefs, and that they only wanted a free passage to Lassa, when it would be seen what would happen. It was stated also, that the English proposed that the above-mentioned chiefs should pay to them the tribute which they now pay to China. A letter to the same effect was received from the Raja of Gorkha, addressed to the two Tarans at Lassa. The two Tarans of this place sent the original letter to the Emperor. The heart of his Imperial Majesty is as pure as the sun, and enlightened as the moon, and truth and falsehood are in all matters

No. III. apparent to him. Not relying on the Raja of Gorkha's letter, he, in order to ascertain the truth of the circumstances, sent from his own presence Shee-Chan-Chun with a royal army; that person accordingly will soon arrive with the army at Tingari, and will inquire into your proceedings.

Such absurd measures as those alluded to appear quite inconsistent with the moral wisdom of the English. It is probable that they never made the declaration imputed to them: if they did, it will not be well. On a former occasion, when Thron-Tan came here to make war against the Raja of Gorkha, a letter was received from the English, addressed to Thron-Tan, asking assistance. The hostile course which, according to the Raja of Gorkha, they have now adopted, is, therefore, beyond measure surprising. An answer should be sent as soon as possible to Tingari, stating whether or not the English have made the absurd propositions imputed to them to the Raja of Gorkha and Dharma Shunga. It is probable that they did not. If they did not, let them write a suitable explanation addressed to Shee-Chan-Chun, that he may make a corresponding communication to the Emperor, stating that the whole story is a falsehood of the Raja of Gorkha. Let the true state of the case be told, that it may be reported to the Emperor. The Emperor of China is just. Be it known to the English gentlemen that his Majesty of China is just and merciful. Send an answer as soon as possible.

Dated 23rd Jemadur-rani, 1231. Hij. (23rd May, 1816).

IV.

PAGE 219.

Substance of a Muhratta Proclamation issued on the 11th February, 1818, by the Honourable Mr. Elphinstone, Sole Commissioner for the territories conquered from the Peshwa.

No. IV. From the time when Baji Rao ascended the Musnud, his country was a prey to faction and rebellion, and there was no efficient government to protect the people. At length Baji Rao was expelled from his dominions, and took refuge in Bassein, where he was dependent on the bounty of Kandi Rao Rastin. At this time he entered into alliance with the British Government, and was immediately restored to the full possession of his

No. IV.

trigued had time to stir. Baji Rao's life was now in the hands of the British Government; but that Government, moved by his professions of gratitude for past favours, and of entire dependence on its moderation, once more resolved to continue him on his throne, after imposing such terms upon him as might secure it from his future perfidy. The principal of these terms was a commutation of the contingent, which the Peshwa was bound to furnish, for money equal to the pay of a similar body of troops; and, on their being agreed to, the British Government restored Baji Rao to his friendship, and proceeded to settle the Pindaris, who had so long been the pests of the peaceable inhabitants of India, and of none more than the Peshwa's own subjects. Baji Rao affected to enter with zeal into an enterprize so worthy of a great government, and assembled a large army, on pretence of cordially assisting in the contest; but in the midst of all his professions he spared neither pains nor money to engage the powers of Hindustan to combine against the British; and no sooner had the British troops marched towards the haunts of the Pindaris than he seized the opportunity to commence war without a declaration, and without even an alleged ground of complaint. He attacked and burned the house of the British Resident, contrary to the laws of nations and the practice of India, plundered and seized on peaceable travellers, and put two British officers to an ignominious death. Baji Rao himself found the last transaction too barbarous to avow; but as the perpetrators are still unpunished, and retain their command in his army, the guilt remains with him. After the commencement of the war, Baji Rao threw off the mask regarding the murder of Gangadhar Sastri, and avowed his participation in the crime by uniting his cause with that of the murderer. By these acts of perfidy and violence, Baji Rao has compelled the British Government to drive him from his musnud, and to conquer his dominions. For this purpose a force is gone in pursuit of Baji Rao, which will allow him no rest; another is employed in taking his forts; a third has arrived by way of Ahmednagar, and a greater force than either is now entering Kandesh, under the personal command of his Excellency Sir Thomas Hislop; a force under General Munro is reducing the Carnatic, and a force from Bombay is taking the forts in the Konkan, and occupying that country, so that in a short time not a trace of Baji Rao will remain. The Raja of Sattara, who is now a prisoner in Baji Rao's hands, will be released, and placed at the head of an independent sovereignty

APPENDIX.

V. and has also written a chor-chiti (a note authorising the quitting of the fort) to you. I write you the information of what has passed; but do you be in readiness, and keep your people, so that your manhood may be known to all, and that no trick or deceit may be in your jurisdiction. Be careful: do not keep your family or children with you, but send them to your house or to some place of safety, so that no person may be acquainted with their residence. Have no incumbrances about you. Be ready. What is decreed will take place. Keep your heart steady to me. There is no need to write much; you will understand everything from this.

2. (*Written in Sindhia's own handwriting.*)

Obey all orders that may come from Srimant (the Peshwa). Plead not that I have given no orders, but do exactly as Srimant may require you. Should you not do so, I shall be perjured. The people have written you from hence, so that you will know everything that is going on. Consider this note as equal to a thousand notes, and act accordingly.

VI.

PAGE 281.

Various properties and rights claimed by Raja Mulhar Rao Holkar in parts of Kandesh and the Dekhin, subject to the Peshwa.
Desmukh, Head of a district, or as Patel, Head of a village.

1.

VI. DESMUKH'S RIGHTS IN THE PERGANA OF CHANDORE, ETC.

A house in Chandore.

Several villages in Jagir.

Seven per cent. on the Government revenue of the village of Maad.

A certain quantity of grain from sundry villages.

One rupee per village for the Desmukh and for his Gomastha or agent.

Three and a half per cent. on all money coined in the mint of Chandore.

DESMUKH'S RIGHTS IN VARIOUS VILLAGES IN THE PERGANA OF
GALNA.

Five per cent. per annum on the Government revenue.

Two rupees from the large, and one from the small village per annum, for offerings to the Manes in the month Bhadon.

Two-thirds of a fourth of all customs and duties.

Money and food on occasion of marriages.

A share of the crops.

Half a seer of oil daily from every oil press.

A certain quantity of oil on the Desmukh's visiting a village.

Proportions of cane, molasses, and sugar from every field and mill.

Two seers of rice from every field.

A portion of the load of every Bunjara bullock that passes through the village.

A present of a rupee a-year from every village.

Two betel leaves from every load, and ten from each shop daily, and one betel nut daily from each grocer.

At fairs in the vicinity of a fort, a portion of every article—a handful of grain from each load, or of vegetables from each basket: twenty-five mangoes from each cart-load, and twenty-five canes from a similar load of sugar-canes, &c.

A set of horse-shoes annually from every smithy.

Two bundles of straw annually from each village.

Shoes, blankets, cloth as before mentioned.

A cart-load of firewood annually from each village.

Five mango-trees in every hundred.

A tax of five rupees a-year on eunuchs, and on vagrants and bears or wild animals.

Portions of meat and spirits daily from butchers and venders of spirituous liquor, and a skin and a half annually from each village.

Whatever platters (of leaves) or pots are required for devotional purposes must be supplied by the manufacturers, and for labour is expected from various castes, when required by the Desmukh.

Contributions, in money or kind, are also levied at the great Hindu festivals, the Dewali, Dasahara and Sankranti.

The whole of these, and of similar rights in other places which were formerly valued at more than three lakhs of rupees annually, were valued in 1819 at little more than one, and that the greater part was intercepted by the officers appointed to make the collections.

VII.

PAGE 404.

Comparative Statement of the Revenues and Charges of British India in the Years 1813-14 and 1822-23.

1813-14.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.	No. VII.
Receipts . . .	£11,172,000	5,297,000	759,000	17,228,000	
Charges . . .	7,135,000	4,893,000	1,589,000	13,617,000	
Surplus Revenue . . .				£3,611,000	
Deduct Interest on Debt . . .			£1,537,000		
Supplies to England . . .			116,000		
				£1,653,000	
Surplus in 1813-14 . . .				£1,958,000	
1822-23. . .	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.	
Receipts . . .	£14,168,000	5,585,000	3,372,000	23,125,000	
Charges . . .	8,746,000	5,072,000	4,264,000	18,082,000	
Surplus Revenue . . .				£5,038,000	
Deduct Interest . . .				1,694,000	
Surplus in 1822-23 . . .				£3,444,000	

ITEMS OF AUGMENTED RECEIPT.

	Bengal.		Madras.		Bombay.	
	1813-14.	1822-23.	1813-14.	1822-23.	1813-14.	1822-23.
Gifts . . .	£9,000	23,000	16,000	21,000	6,000	2,000
Post Office . . .	43,000	61,000	20,000	25,000	6,000	11,000
Stamps . . .	16,000	150,000	31,000	62,000		17,000
Judicial . . .	104,000	54,000	20,000	19,000	6,000	8,000
Customs . . .	322,000	477,000	190,000	218,000	108,000	158,000
Land Reve. . .	3,928,000	4,448,000	893,000	877,000	37,000	130,000
S. Ced. & P. . .	2,271,000	2,411,000	"	"	206,000	360,000
Acquired . . .	1,664,000	1,806,000	"	"	291,000	1,430,000
Perbudda . . .	"	609,000	"	"	"	"
It . . .	1,779,000	2,553,000	155,000	148,000	"	"
Plum . . .	964,000	1,493,000	"	"	"	1,158,000
Marine . . .	31,000	33,724	9,000	8,000	40,000	21,000
Marine . . .	"	"	1,131,000	1,464,000	"	"
Mysore . . .	"	"	436,000	459,000	"	"
Mysore . . .	"	"	1,519,000	1,400,000	"	"
Mysore . . .	"	"	685,000	669,000	"	"
Travancore . . .	"	"	91,000	89,000	"	"
Cochin . . .	"	"	32,000	23,000	"	"
Farms and } Licences }	"	"	62,000	100,000	53,000	74,000
Rich Set- } tlements }	"	"	"	"	"	"

No. VII.

TOTAL INCREASE OF REVENUE.

1822-23	£23,120,000	
1813-14	17,228,000	
Increase	£5,892,000	
Of which the increase in Bengal was		£2,500,000
" " Madras		
" " Bombay		2,000,000
		<u>£5,892,000</u>
Increase in Salt—Bengal	£774,000	
" Opium—Bengal	529,000	
	<u>1,303,000</u>	
" " Bombay	1,158,000	
	<u>£2,461,000</u>	

INCREASE ON LAND IN BENGAL.

Lower Provinces	£560,000	
Ceded ditto	140,000	
Conquered ditto	142,000	
	<u>£842,000</u>	
Revenue from the territories on the Nerbudda		£609,000
Ditto from the Mahratta conquered territory		1,839,000
		<u>£2,448,000</u>

Report Lords, 1830. App. Revenues of India.

B. Comparison of Receipts, with Charges and Interest, from
1813-14 to 1822-23.

	Revenue.	Charges and Interest.	Local Surplus
1813-14	£17,228,000	£16,154,000	£1,958,000
1814-15	17,231,000	16,684,000	1,547,000
1815-16	17,168,000	16,665,000	503,000
1816-17	18,010,000	16,842,000	1,161,000
1817-18	18,305,000	17,597,000	708,000
1818-19	19,392,000	19,224,000	168,000
1819-20	19,172,000	18,981,000	191,000
1820-21	21,292,000	19,423,000	1,869,000
1821-22	21,753,000	19,488,000	2,265,000
1822-23	23,120,000	19,778,000	3,342,000

Comm. Comm. 1832. App. Finance, No. 4, Art. 1.

